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Detoured, Deferred and Different:
A Comparative Study of Postcolonial Diasporic Identities in the Literary Works of Sam Selvon and Weng Nao

By

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(a) sections of Chapters 3 and 5 have been adapted for publication in a book chapter entitled "Sam Selvon's Lonely London and Caribbean Diasporic Identity in Literature" in *Diasporic Identities and Empire: Cultural Contentions and Literary Landscapes* (Edited by Anastasia Nicéphore, Guest editior: David Brooks, Cambridge Scholar Publishing, forthcoming).

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(c) sections of Chapter 6 have been adapted for publication in a journal article entitled "A Second Translation in Taiwanese Diasporic Literature: Re-reading Weng Nao," to be published in the special issue *Translation: Translating Memory across Cultures and Disciplines* (forthcoming 2015).

Signature:	

For my grandma

and those who have not lived long enough to tell the stories of their generation

For my parents

and those who have not yet heard the stories from their parents

For my husband

and those who would like to hear the stories that have not yet been told

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Abstract

This thesis provides a comparative reading to selected writings from Anglophone Trinidadian writer Sam Selvon and Japanophone Taiwanese writer Weng Nao, demonstrating the link between these two authors' specific representation of multiple diasporic models of Caribbean diaspora and Taiwanese diaspora respectively and its influence on diasporic identity narratives. This study provides a cross-linguistic/ cultural perspective on comparative postcolonial literary studies, which helps to move beyond the primary focus of Anglophone texts and contexts.

Although the focused two authors Sam Selvon and Weng Nao come from different historical specificities and linguistic backgrounds that urge them produce their narratives in different ways and tones of tackling issues that they have encountered in each socio-political and cultural contexts respectively, their works provides outstanding examples of how contemporary diasporic routes—both geographically and metaphorically, have significant influence on literary productions that should not be categorised by its geographical or linguistic boundaries, and can only be fully understood by linking one to another from the legacies of colonialism and the triangle models of diasporic routes. The diasporic identity, as being illustrated in both of their works, has been evolved with geographical movements and transformed into an iconic concept that makes new forms of artistic production possible. Diasporic literature, therefore, should not be limited into traditional disciplinary compartmentalisation of national literary studies. By bringing the focus on the multiple diasporic journeys, the identity representation reflected in the literary work in this study helps to identify the complexity and boundary crossing within Anglophone literature and Japanophone literature, which have already transformed into literary works of being able to depict a more complex model of modern cultures—endless traveling and hybrid.

By bringing forth the excluded Japanophone texts in the field of postcolonial studies to be compared with the texts from the prominent Anglophone postcolonial writer Sam Selvon, this thesis hopes to offer some insights into the reassessment of the literary status of Weng Nao and the significance of his works in the world literary stage, and, furthermore, to identify how Japanophone literary works might be compatible with postcolonial analysis.

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Introduction

This thesis is a comparative study of twentieth-century formations of postcolonial diasporic identities in the works of Anglophone Trinidadian writer Sam Selvon and Japanophone Taiwanese writer Weng Nao.[1] It provides a cross-linguistic/cultural perspective on postcolonial cultures and literatures, which helps to move beyond the primary focus of postcolonial studies on Anglophone literary texts and contexts. In particular, this thesis begins with exploring Selvon's texts as examples to foreground the Anglophone methodological and thematic paradigm before moving on to a comparison with Weng's Japanophone Taiwanese literary context. The intention behind this methodology is to identify the similarities and differences of the latter which is relatively lesser known compared to the paradigm of Anglophone-dominated postcolonial studies. Rather than attempting to follow Taiwan's most popular critical approach in comparative literary studies which compares Irish literature and Taiwanese literature, and which has mainly focused on the colonial relationship between England and Ireland, as well as between China and Taiwan, this research focuses on more complicated and multiple colonial and postcolonial experiences between the Caribbean (specifically, Trinidadian) and Taiwanese diasporic cultural contexts. This involves the investigation of longer

[1] Known as 翁鬧 in Taiwan. The author's name is in the order of the Taiwanese naming system. Weng is the family name, and Nao is the given name. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system. Throughout the thesis, I primarily follow the Wade-Giles system for the transcription of the names of writers and critics from Taiwan. For the names of people that are already established in English publications, I adhere to their preferred or most popular spellings.

(post)colonial diasporic routes/timelines and interrelationships among ancestral homelands, the native lands and imperial motherlands.[2] The multiple routes of Caribbean diasporas are usually considered in terms of the traumatic memory of slave exportation from Africa or the harrowing voyage of indentured labourers from South Asia, as well as a series of "secondary" migrant journeys to European and North American countries. This has emerged as one of the primary models in contemporary diasporic theoretical frameworks, and it provides ways of thinking about diasporic routes not only involving two locations (those of departure and arrival), in addition to those involving more complicated and multiple routes and roots. In the analysis that follows, I argue that studying contemporary Japanophone Taiwanese diasporic literature by covering its historical, geographical and cultural routes amongst at least three cultural locations, including ancestral China, Taiwan and Westernised Imperial Japan, might provide a way to fill the gap created by the Irish-Taiwanese comparison which engages mainly with the power relations between Ireland-England and Taiwan-China but omits the multiple and complex triangular relationships between the coloniser, the colonised and ancestral heritage (Britain-the Caribbean-India or Africa; Japan-Taiwan-China). This research therefore provides a more insightful explanation than previous Irish-Taiwanese comparative studies, which have created ambiguity in positioning Japan as the coloniser within the comparison, which has, in fact, played a significant role in Taiwanese colonial history and in constructing Taiwanese postcolonial identity.

[2] For the Caribbean contexts, the postcolonial diasporic routes link Africa/India, the Caribbean islands and Britain, and in the Taiwanese context, the diasporic routes link China, Taiwan and Japan.

As mentioned above, this thesis will mainly look at the literary works of Trinidadian author Sam Selvon and Taiwanese author Weng Nao as examples that allow for a more focused reading of Caribbean (Trinidadian) and Taiwanese literary/cultural contexts. However, other Caribbean writers (such as Caryl Phillips and Jean Rhys) and Taiwanese writers (such as Wu Zhuoliu[3]), as well as Japanese modernist writers (Kawabata Yasunari[4] and Tanizaki Jun'ichrō[5]) will also be included for comparison and support in order to offer a more comprehensive contextual understanding of the significance of the main texts by Sam Selvon and Weng Nao.

This thesis focuses on the works of Selvon and Weng in order to explore how they represent, respectively, the uniqueness of the diasporic Trinidadian identity in London and diasporic Taiwanese identity in Tokyo via their literary metaphors and specific literary practice in styles and languages. The innovative dialogic method I take in this thesis performs a comparative literary/cultural context-focused examination of cross-cultural communications in order to identify the similar postcolonial states and the differences in the post-war literary status of two authors'

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[3] Known as 吳濁流 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Hanyu Pinyin system, which is used by Ioannis Mentzas when translating Wu's work *Orphan of Asia* published in 2006 by Columbia University Press. However, he is also known as Wu Cho-liu according to the Wade-Giles system, which is used by Taiwanese translator Lin Po-yen on Taiwan's official website of the Hakka Affairs Council (http://www.hakka.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=22260&ctNode=2213&mp=2210).

[4] Known as 川端康成 in Japanese kanji. The name is written in the order of the Japanese naming system. Kawabata is the family name, and Yasunari is the given name. Kawabata is the first Japanese writer to win the Nobel Prize for Literature, praised "for his narrative mastery, which with great sensibility expresses the essence of the Japanese mind" ("Yasunari Kawabata - Facts." *Nobelprize.org*). He was also one of the leading figures in Japanese modernist writing in the early twentieth century and had a significant influence on the writing style of Weng Nao.

[5] Known as 谷崎潤一郎 in Japanese kanji. The name is written in the order of the Japanese naming system. Tanizaki is also one of the leading figures in Japanese modernist writing and had significant influence on the writing style of Weng Nao.

works under different social, cultural and linguistic systems. The questions to be addressed in the thesis are: How do the multiple routes/roots influence the way Selvon and Weng represent their diasporic identities in literature? How do they use different writing techniques and literary aethestics to represent their hybrid identities and resistance against colonialist discourse? Through the comparison, this thesis also attempts to explore the possibility of understanding Weng's work within the framework of postcolonial discourse and to re-define Weng's literary status and contribution.

I use the term "postcolonial diasporic writer" frequently throughout the thesis to refer to Caribbean writers such as Sam Selvon, George Lamming, Derek Walcott, V.S. Naipaul and Jean Rhys, and Taiwanese writers Weng Nao, Wu Zhuoliu, Chung Li-he[6] and Wang Ch'ang-hsiung[7] in order to distinguish them from the imperial writers originating from England or Japan, who have already extensively mapped the colonised Other from the coloniser's perspective within their writings. Rather than defining the self from the standpoint of the coloniser, postcolonial diasporic writers narrate their migrant journeys, diasporic experiences, ontologies, and the (ex)-imperial metropolis from their own perspectives. The term, however, is not used to suggest that the works of these writers emerged "right after" the historical timeline of the post-war period, but rather that they might also have overlapped with the periods before and after the Second World War. This definition echoes John

[6] Known as 鍾理和 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.
[7] Known as 王昶雄 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.

McLeod's explanation of the use of the term "postcolonialism" as the adjective "postcolonial" describes "a way of thinking, a mode of perception, a line of enquiry, an aesthetic practice, a method of investigation" rather than "to denote a particular *historical period or epoch*" (*Beginning Postcolonialism* 5-6; McLeod's emphasis). Though the term, as McLeod admits, is still of crucial importance in relation to historical experiences (ibid. 6), it more often describes both the colonial relationship during the period of colonialism and its legacy after colonialism, which involves reference back to what has occurred during the period of colonialism. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, the use of "postcolonial diasporic writer" in this thesis refers to the unique position of the writers rather than being defined temporally.

The significance of comparing postcolonial diasporas

Since the 1980s, the arrival of the term "postcolonial" on the academic scene has been considered as one of the most significant developments in the field of comparative literature since it offers a wealth of possibilities for comparing the forms and content between literatures from authors of different postcolonial backgrounds (Bassnett, *Comparative Literature* 76). Edward Said, Gayatri C. Spivak and Homi Bhabha, to name but a few, have paved the way for Postcolonial Studies by raising debates on the shifting power relations between the former coloniser and the former colonised, and of the colonial legacies in the post-war years. Amongst these debates, the themes of exile, displacement and (non)belonging, which have frequently been related to the aftermath of colonial expansion and the massive post-war immigration

to the imperial metropolises, for example, have been traced through literatures from various postcolonial backgrounds since the early-to-mid twentieth century (ibid. 76). Although opponents of Postcolonial theory such as E. San Juan Jr. are less confident that Postcolonial theory can adequately account for the multicultural dynamics of the (formerly) colonised world, Bill Ashcroft et. al. still emphasise the analytical potential of such theory and explain:

> Post-colonial literary theory has begun to deal with the problems of transmuting time into space, with the present struggling out of the past, and like much recent post-colonial literature, it attempts to construct a future. The post-colonial world is one in which destructive cultural encounter is changing into an acceptance of difference on equal terms. Both literary theorists and cultural historians are beginning to recognise cross-culturality as the potential termination point of an apparently endless human history of conquest and annihilation […] the strength of post-colonial theory may well lie in its inherently comparative methodology and the hybridized and syncretic view of the modern world which this implies (*The Empire Writes Back* 36).

From this perspective, the significance of postcolonial studies has hereby provided comparative literary studies with an alternative viewpoint which accepts different cultural/literary forms on the basis of equality rather than hierarchy. Though Postcolonial theory as a method of literary criticism might have its own limitations, as discussed (for example) by Benita Parry in her essay "Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse," Postcolonial discursive analysis and Marxist

materialist discussions in fact share some similar values on the worldly interests from the start—particularly the need to recovery the perspectives and voices of subaltern subjects—but may result in different methods and demand different modes of analysis when applied to specific cases. Postcoloniality is not necessarily "a worldwide crisis moment of late imperial culture" as E. San Juan Jr has argued (15), rather it can be further developed to meet its original intention and realise its ambitions in a more innovative way. In Spivak's *Death of a Discipline* (2003), where she introduces the neologism "planetarity" as an alternative moniker for the processes commonly grouped under the label of globalisation, she argues that new approaches to comparative literary studies can better represent the cultures/literatures of minorities—African, Asian, Hispanic or any other subaltern groups in the world—who have histories different from those commonly privileged within more Eurocentric models of "world literature" (84-5). She suggests that established postcolonial models should also evolve in order to take more account of transnational and global culture studies movements that resonate with the humanist ideals of planetarity, and to engage more analytically with the heterogeneous cultural formations (86).

Since the early 1990s, the notion of comparative postcolonial studies has been widely promoted and developed by many scholars (Keown et al. 4). Scholars who focus primarily on Anglophone materials, such as John McLeod, Michelle Keown, David Murphy, James Procter and Elleke Boehmer have become increasingly aware of the need to expand the field of studies to include those which engage with other

colonial languages and trajectories. In his *Companion to Postcolonial Studies* (2007), for example, McLeod asserts that the centre of gravity within the field is deliberately shifting from being Anglophone-focused toward the contexts of different postcolonial countries and their interrelations with the ex-colonial "motherland" (11). More recently, the editors of *Comparing Postcolonial Diasporas* (2009) offer a wide range of perspectives from non-Anglophone contexts, which cover Francophone, Hispanic, Neerlandophone and Pacific diaspora cultures and experiences with the hope of challenging the centrality of Britain to current theorisations of postcolonial diaspora studies. Equally, there has been quite a substantial amount of research by other scholars working on non-Anglophone postcolonial contexts. For example, in *A Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literatures* (2008) edited by Prem Poddar et al., the focus is shifted from research centred on Britain to other European countries and their imperial legacies within the former colonies.

If, as recent international scholarship has suggested, the postcolonial perspective can be used as an expedient academic language for cross-cultural communication to identify the similarities between postcolonial states from different socio-political, cultural and linguistic systems, it might then be possible to provide ground for comparing literary works by authors from different backgrounds within this discourse. In this regard, comparing postcolonial diasporic writings should aim for opening up of *the worldview* of postcolonial scholarship a little bit more and offering a new perspective from that of English colonialism, which has already created a range of diasporic formations and significantly affected the order of the

globalised world. However, as Spivak observes, given that international relations are often hampered by a relative lack of communication with and among the immensely heterogeneous subaltern cultures of the world (16), how can we, as postcolonial literary scholars/critics overcome such a fundamental difficulty in order to work together with academics in the fields of Comparative Literature, Cultural Studies or Area Studies in reading these including not only the national literatures of the global South, and works in countless indigenous languages, but also writing that engages with the hybrid inflections of diasporic cultures?

It was not until 2012 that a special issue of the journal *Taiwan in Comparative Perspective*, subtitled *Taiwan and Ireland in Comparative Perspective*,[8] which published papers presented at the conference "Small islands, Big Issues,"[9] remarks upon the recent emergence of comparative postcolonial studies and its significance with regard to the field of Taiwanese literary studies. In keeping with the arguments of Britain-based scholars (such as McLeod,[10] Keown, Murphy and Procter[11]), Taiwanese scholar Feng Pin-chia[12] in the introduction to her latest book *Between East and West India* (2010) also tells us that the emergence of this cross-linguistic awareness within the field of postcolonial studies not only allows access to new lines

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[8] *Taiwan in Comparative Perspective* established in 2007 is an interdisciplinary journal published annually by the general editorship of Prof Stephan Feuchtwang, the London School of Economics.
[9] The conference was held at University College Dublin in September 2011.
[10] See McLeod, John. "Contesting Contexts: Francophone Thought and Anglophone Postcolonialism" in Charles Forsdick and David Murphy Eds. *Francophone Postcolonial Studies: A Critical Introduction*. London and New York: Arnold, 2003. Page 58-9.
[11] See Keown, Michelle, David Murphy and James Procter. Ed. *Comparing Postcolonial Diasporas*. London: Palgrave Macmillian, 2009. Page 4.
[12] Known as 馮品佳 in Taiwan. The English spelling is according to the Taiwanese modified Wade-Giles system, which is used by Feng as her English name in her international publications.

of inquiry which should not be ignored or neatly bracketed; it also provides a collaborative aspect and mode of thought for local/global dialogues (31). Feng suggests that in order to adjust Anglophone Postcolonial literary theory to fit the needs of contemporary Taiwanese literary studies, a comparative method could be helpful (ibid. 31).

In order to forward this agenda, this study therefore starts with the intention of weaving together the contemporary currents in Anglophone and European postcolonial studies in order to develop a more complex comparative linguistic and disciplinary paradigm, as well as linking the discursive threads of Taiwanese studies in correlation to international postcolonial discourses. This thesis compares the literary works of Anglophone diasporic literary contexts and Japanese language diasporic literary contexts from the postcolonial perspective in order to move beyond the Anglophone-focused postcolonial cultural and literary contexts, to gain a wider understanding of the links between the legacies of the British and the Japanese Empires, an area which has remained relatively underexplored in postcolonial studies within Europe or North America. This thesis attempts to not only resist predominant Euro-American theoretical discourses, but also to appreciate and respect the diversity of different postcolonial cultures and literatures and their attendant multicultural values, which go beyond theoretical discourses. In drawing on the work of prominent theorists such as Homi Bhabha I would further develop and expand it in order to find a better analytical explanation for the literary works produced in the context of East Asia, to ensure recognition of the resistance of the “alternative” colonised subalterns

and illuminate their material conditions. However, this study does not go as far as to reject European or North American theories as some scholars have done recently. For example, Taiwanese scholar Chen Kuan-hsing [13] and Korean scholar Paik Nak-chung[14] have tried to seek alternative theoretical possibilities for the study of Asian literature by constructing distinctly Asian theoretical approaches and rejecting Euro-American theories completely in order to show absolute resistance to the domination of Euro-American models. Nevertheless, in the age of globalisation, cultures and literatures of different regions or nations have become increasingly frontierless, and cross-cultural communications have become much easier and more frequent. Even Marxist materialists, like E. San Juan Jr and Aijaz Ahmad, who advocate the attention to the material conditions of the colonised, are inevitably intensely theoretical-based in their analytical discussions and expand their "urgent-life-or-death" debates[15] from existing debates on race and culture developed in the "West."[16] International or cross-cultural experience has now been woven into the texture of modern literary representation and cultural production in the media (Jaggi, "World Literatures" 12). Thus, it is almost impossible to construct a "pure" theory to apply to the analysis of "authentic" national literature in a world characterised by endless travelling and communications between regions, nations or

[13] Known as 陳光興 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.

[14] Known as 白樂晴 in Taiwan, and 백낙청 in Korea.

[15] E. San Juan Jr points out that " 'urgent life-or-death' questions are ignored by postcolonial theory" (13).

[16] We must be aware that "Western" academia is not just developed by "Western" scholars but also developed as a result of significant input by a great number of scholars from "non-Western" backgrounds.

areas. The comparison and links have proven to be significant with regard to Asian literary studies, not only because the Japanese colonial empire was the only non-European colonial empire and shared similar geographical and historical conditions[17] with the European colonial empires, but also because from the discussion of the colonial legacies between empires, we may gain a better understanding of the contemporary literary works that are always crossing the boundaries and generating frequent communication between cultures. Such an approach can provide a more nuanced analysis and theoretical discussion on postcolonial diasporas and hybrid diasporic linguistic/cultural identity in literature, rather than merely presenting a simplified binaristic approach to the analysis of the relationship between the imperium and its former colonies.

By exploring two different diasporic literary/cultural contexts from different colonial backgrounds, this study not only identifies the complexity and boundary crossings within Anglophone literature, Japanophone literature and its translated texts in the Chinese language, but also suggests that contemporary literary studies, especially concerning literary works of the twentieth century, should not be limited to national literary contexts, but rather, should explore literary works of a wider cultural/linguistic range in order to produce a more complete picture of modern culture—one that is hybrid and multicultural. Just as translators have always had faith in the equivalence between languages and have attempted to define different worlds in terms of sameness, this sameness for comparatists is always open to

[17] They are both islands beside continents and emerged to become colonial empires.

negotiation, and can be interpreted using different systems (Bassnett, *Comparative Literature* 145). In so doing, this thesis challenges predominant modes of literary analysis. Furthermore, I perform comparisons between two different contexts and different linguistic systems—Anglophone Caribbean diasporic literature and Japanophone Taiwanese diasporic literature (and in Chinese translation as well)—in order to demonstrate that even these two different contexts, which belong to different linguistic systems, different areas and different ethnic/cultural backgrounds, can have significant similarities in values, writing styles/techniques and concepts of cultural translation, while still retaining their cultural uniqueness. Subsequently, through analysing Sam Selvon's and Weng Nao's works, this thesis seeks to invite dialogues and comparison between two metropolitan minority contexts.

Postcolonial studies of the Japanese Empire and its former colonies

In dominant postcolonial discourse, which mainly focuses on British or European colonial legacies, postcolonial studies of the Japanese Empire and its former colonies have received far less critical attention over the past several decades. Unlike the thriving studies of European postcolonialism, the study of the postcolonial experience and legacies of Japan's former colonies seems to be excluded from European and North American postcolonial discourses, which have primarily evolved within the Euro-American academy since the 1980s. As Japanese scholar Marukawa Tetsushi[18] argues in his essay "Colonial Memory and Ghost in the

[18] Known as 丸川哲史 in Japanese kanji. The name is according to Japanese naming system.

Colonies—Taiwan's Postcolonial Mind Map" (2000), the reasons for this might lie in the specific circumstances of Japanese colonialism: though it mimicked aspects of European colonialism from the British Empire and the French Empire, its legacy is still radically different from and unfamiliar to the European systems (30). Besides, the discussion of colonialism in Japan has been taboo since the nation's defeat in the Second World War. Within a period of twenty-seven years, Japan transformed into a modern imperial super power in East Asia, but Japanese colonialism was hastily curtailed when the two atomic bombs forced Japan to surrender in 1945. As Taiwanese historian Leo Ching observes, in the immediate post-war years, intellectuals from Japan's former colonies engaged in debates about the future and the independence of their nations; however, Japan, as well as its former colonies, such as Taiwan and Korea, became voiceless chess pieces on a conference table (*Becoming Japanese* 35-6). In the Potsdam Declaration (26th July 1945), the sovereignty of Japan was declared to be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Shikoku; unlike Britain and France, Japan was not allowed to be involved in the processes of working toward decolonisation and independence of its former colonies (ibid. 35-6). There were few debates within Japan about such issues, just as there was little struggle within Japan regarding its "unconditional surrender" after the explosion of the two atomic bombs, and the international stage for the Japanese Empire evaporated, almost as if it had never existed before (ibid. 35-6). The people of the ex-colonised states, such as Taiwan, could only accept what had been decided for them. As Taiwanese writer Wu Zhuoliu contends in the introduction of

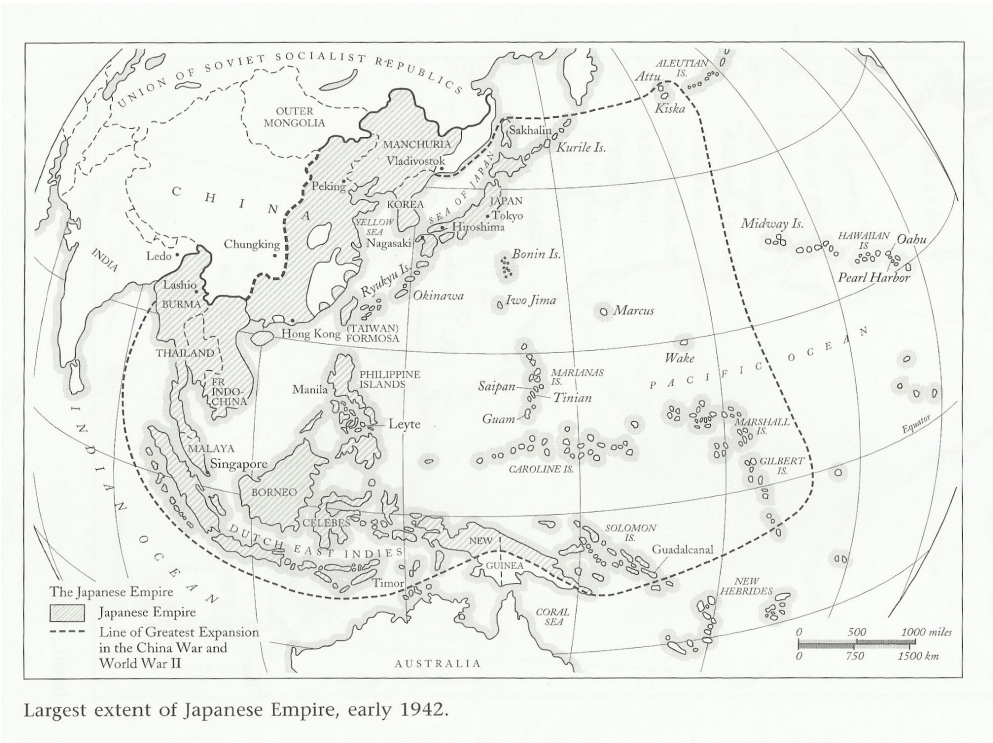
his short story "The Potsdam Officer"[19] (1948): "In this world, there was no great thing like the Potsdam Declaration. It [the fate of Taiwan] was 'declared' when millions of people in the world were bleeding, crying and fighting for [the independence of] their countries" (133).

In this context, Japan's international political status reverted from that of a competitive imperial power comparable to Europe and the United States back to that of an oppressive East Asian country. However, according to Taiwanese-American scholar Leo Ching, Japan's international status after its unconditional surrender during the Second World War did not mean that the fact that Japan was once an East Asian colonial power in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century could be forgotten and its colonial guilt erased in the face of the brutality of Anglo-American imperialism (*Becoming Japanese* 27). For its former colonies, Manchuria, Korea, Taiwan, Okinawa, and other affected South-East Asian countries,[20] Japan's mimicking of Western colonial power has significantly affected their lifestyles, educational systems, linguistic systems and other elements, and it does not seem to matter that Japan was a "non-White/non-European" colonial power that had transformed itself into a competitive, Westernised colonial power in accordance with its fellow European competitors. For the people of those formerly colonised nations or areas, Japan was already a modernised imperial country that was almost equal in dominance to the West colonial powers, and one from which they could receive the latest European technology, ideas and literary trends (ibid. 49-50).

[19] Known as「ポツダム科長」in its original Japanese title.
[20] Please see Figure 1.

In Ching's account, the Japanese Colonial Empire was "not-White/not quite but similar" to its fellow (European) colonial empires, since the Japanese Empire reflected its socio-historical background as a "deferred" colonial power (ibid. 49). Sakai Naoki[21] also asserts that Japan's strategy was a peculiar phenomenon that simultaneously accepted and resisted the West (134). Even so, Ching and Sakai argue that Japan should not deny the fact that the Japanese Empire, as an East Asian colonial power, drew upon the structures and values of European colonialism even as it evaded the charge of Eurocentrism and emulation of Western Imperialism (Ching, *Becoming Japanese* 50; Sakai 134).

Figure 1 Map of the Japanese Empire



Largest extent of Japanese Empire, early 1942.

Source: John Benson and Takao Matsumura. *Japan, 1868-1945: From Isolation to Occupation*. Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2001. p. x.

[21] Known as 酒井直樹 in Japanese Kanji.

Located in the centre of Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia, Taiwan comprises the main island of Taiwan, as well as Penghu, Kinmen, Matsu, the South China Sea Islands and other minor surrounding islands. Since it was named as Formosa[22] by European explorers in the fifteenth century, Taiwan has experienced a long history of colonization,[23] slavery and racially motivated violence during the years of the European "Golden Age" of marine exploration. In the early seventeenth century, the Dutch East India Company shipped around 25,000 Chinese labourers from Southern China to Taiwan for the planting of rice and sugar. They were forced to cross the so-called "black ditch,"[24] and by the end of Dutch occupation in 1664, the Chinese population grew to 50,000 on the main island (Rubinstein 9-10). Their descendants widely consider themselves to be "native" Taiwanese even though prior to their arrival there was already a substantial population[25] of Taiwanese aborigines, who belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family[26] (Bellwood 90-3; Blust 59; Rubinstein 85). During 1662-1683, the Nan-Ming Kingdom (a quasi-Han Chinese kingdom) was established on the island by a Chinese military leader, Koxinga,[27] who was born in

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[22] Taiwan was named as Formosa *(Ilha Formosa*) by Portuguese sailors in 1544, which means "beautiful island."

[23] Taiwan has been colonised by Portugal, Spain and the Netherlands since the fifteenth century.

[24] The Taiwan Strait.

[25] Records indicate there were already 70,000 aborigines living on the Western Coastal Plain in the early years of Dutch occupation (Rubinstein 9). According to the Japanese census of 1905, there were 82,795 aborigines living in the high mountainous area (Barclay 16).

[26] According to Peter Bellwood's study "Austronesian Dispersal and the Origin of Languages" (1991), the homeland of Austronesian is identified with the agricultural heartland of southeast Asia, which also overlaps with the original homeland of the related Tai-Kadai language family. There are seven stages of the Austronesian dispersal: firstly to Formosa, also known as Taiwan (4000 B.C.), then to the Philippines (3000 B.C.), Timor (2500 B. C.), the Marianas through Micronesia and western Polynesia (1200 B. C.), central Polynesia (200 B. C.), Hawaii and Easter Island (A. D. 300-400) and New Zealand (A. D. 800) (Bellwood 91).

[27] Koxinga (國姓爺) has been widely known in Taiwan as 鄭成功 (Cheng Ch'eng Kung in the WG system or also known as Zheng Chenggong in the Pinyin system). He was a descendent of the Ming Dynasty (a Chinese Kingdom established by Han people 1368-1644) and used Taiwan island as a base

Hirado, Japan and had a Japanese mother (Croizier 32). After the last emperor of Nan-Ming, Cheng K'o-shuang,[28] surrendered to the Ch'ing Empire in mainland China in 1683, Taiwan was first put on the map of the Chinese Empire (T'ang 230). In 1895, Taiwan and its neighbouring islands (the Penghu islands) were ceded to Japan by the Ch'ing Empire as bargaining chips in the negotiations for a cease fire[29] of the first Sino-Japanese War and Taiwan then came under Japanese colonial rule for fifty years (1895-1945). After the Second World War, Taiwan was once again ruled by an "exiled" Chinese government (the Chinese Nationalist government, KMT)[30] that lost the whole territory of mainland China in 1949 and was replaced by the government of the People's Republic of China in the seat of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council in 1971. These migration routes, the legacy of Japanese colonial rule and the post-war political conditions are crucial elements in developing an understanding of contemporary Taiwan and postcolonial Taiwanese identities. Such complexity and ambivalence is also reflected in Taiwanese literary works written in classical Chinese, Japanese and in contemporary Mandarin Chinese,[31] which explore the multiple/hybrid journeys and multiple cultural identities between the ancestor's homeland in China, Taiwan, and the

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in the hope to fight off the Manchu people (who established the Ch'ing Dynasty 1644-1912).

[28] Known as 鄭克塽 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the WG system.

[29] The Treaty of Shimonoseki, known in Japanese as《下関条約》or《日清講和条約》and also known as the Treaty of Maguan《馬關條約》in Chinese was signed on 17th April 1895.

[30] After the Chinese civil war, the Chinese Nationalist Party was forced to retreat to Taiwan after being defeated by the Chinese Communists in 1947 (Chen 192). The party's "emergency regime" became the only political party on the island and led Taiwan to become the "KMT party-state," also known as the Republic of China (Taiwan) (ibid. 192).

[31] The standard Chinese used in Taiwan since 1945 is traditional Chinese, whilst the standard Mandarin Chinese used in mainland China (PRC) since 1956 is simplified Chinese.

imperial motherland, Japan.

Having undergone such complicated socio-political transitions in Taiwanese colonial history, especially during the twentieth century, Japanophone Taiwanese writing has been seen as controversial, and has earned much critical attention not for its literary qualities but rather within political debates since the 1970s, as it explores a critical period of transformation and the construction of contemporary Taiwanese cultures and identities (Liu, "Whose Literature? Whose History? 178). In fact, a large body of Taiwanese literature has sought to re-establish a sense of multiple (non-)belongings and displacements by recuperating Chinese heritage maintained in Taiwanese ethnographic traditions, which have played a significant role in the literary developments in contemporary East Asia as it covers two of the biggest linguistic zones in the area—the Sinophone and Japanophone cultural/literary zones. For a better understanding of how literary practice and the significance of cultural translation in between the two biggest linguistic zones of East Asia, further literary critical attention is urgently needed, rather than allowing these areas to be subsumed by dominant political-ideological discourses.

By comparing literary works from different linguistic systems and investigating the legacies of the British and Japanese Empires, the main purpose of this thesis is to bring Japanophone Taiwanese literary studies into the realm of Postcolonial Studies alongside with other "designated" postcolonial regions such as Africa, South Asia and the Caribbean. Moreover, this study seeks to anticipate and expand paradigms for comparative postcolonial diaspora studies since, as mentioned earlier, the

colonial legacy of the Japanese Empire seems to be the least familiar within the field. In addition, this thesis hopes to challenge the traditional disciplinary boundaries within literary studies in order to provide the potential to bring different linguistic/cultural systems into dialogue. By doing so, this study hopes to offer a more equal opportunity for communication between literary works from different postcolonial linguistic zones and an approach which resists the dominance of Anglophone postcolonial literary works. Furthermore, Taiwanese writers such as Weng Nao, Wu Zhuoliu, Chung Li-he and Wang Ch'ang-hsiung, who are relatively less known to the field can be placed on a more internationally accessible stage along with widely known Anglophone Caribbean writers such as Sam Selvon, Caryl Phillips, V. S. Naipaul and Jean Rhys in the academic discussion of postcolonial studies.

However, this study does not intend to cover all the aspects of the colonial legacies of the British Empire and Japanese Empires; it focuses primarily on the resistance toward colonialism and struggles in diasporic identity construction in Selvon's and Weng's literary world and their relations with the socio-political backgrounds in Trinidadian/English and Taiwanese/Japanese milieux.

Sam Selvon v.s. Weng Nao

One of the central authors in this thesis, the Trinidadian writer, Sam Selvon, is widely known for his Caribbean diasporic texts which are set in London. *The Lonely Londoners* (1956) has received particularly wide critical attention in the UK. In the

Anglophone postcolonial diasporic context, Sam Selvon's fictional narratives are seen as paradigmatic depictions of the migrant experience in the metropole. *The Lonely Londoners* (1956), *The Housing Lark* (1965), *Moses Ascending* (1975) and *Moses Migrating* (1983) explore the plight of West Indian migrants in Britain from the 1950s onwards, and his markedly satirical writing style and linguistic experimentation as a pluralist Trinidadian, a black modernist writer and a "calypso aesthete"[32] have thus gained him the title of the "father of black Literature"[33] (Nasta, *Home Truths* 62-63, 70). As David Dabydeen reminds us, the experience of living in the metropolis can become one of "no belonging" or "no identity"[34] ("Coolie Odyssey" 174). Nonetheless, Selvon's works in fact demonstrate different ways of foregrounding and celebrating his own diasporic cultural identity, as well as that of the majority of Trinidadian Londoners.

Japanophone Taiwanese diasporic writer Weng Nao, on the other hand, is renowned for his metropolitan (Tokyo) writing. Weng Nao seeks to bring his works to a broader audience by narrating the diasporic life experience set in an imperial metropole. He achieves this aim by modifying his literary language and using modernist writing techniques he acquired from western/imperial literary models. Unlike Anglophone postcolonial writers who use their first language, English, enabling them to secure contracts with major publishers in Anglophone metropolitan

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[32] See *Home Truths*, page 63.

[33] Maya Angelou in conversation with Susheila Nasta and Sam Selvon; this comment was made at a literary prizegiving for Sam Selvon in 1988. However, even though he produced his works in English, it has taken decades for Selvon's works to finally be appreciated within Anglophone academia. In fact, he is still not fully accepted within the academy.

[34] Dabydeen once said in an interview that "when you are in the city, you don't belong anywhere because you are metropolitan" ("Coolie Odyssey" 174).

locations, such as London or New York, Japanophone postcolonial writers like Weng Nao had relatively less opportunity to reach a global literary audience or to study within academia, where the primary literary language is English. Even Selvon received his very first recognition from mainstream literary criticism decades after his works were published. It will likely require even greater efforts to bring Weng's work to international critical attention as there are a limited number of scholars who currently research his works, and most of these scholars only publish their research in Japanese or Chinese. Despite the fact that Weng's writings feature several parallels with that of the widely discussed Trinidadian writer Selvon, and the fact that he is one of the most established Japanophone Taiwanese writers, he still has had very minimal exposure.

This thesis therefore provides a platform to compare Weng's and Selvon's literary representations of cultural identities in order to present a more thorough understanding of the significant contributions of Weng and his works—including the poems "An Ode to Birds"[35] (1935), "In A Foreign Land"[36] (1935) "A Poet's Lover"[37] (1935), the essay "The Border of Kōenji—Tokyo Suburban Streets for the *Flâneur*"[38] (1935), the short stories "Remaining Snow"[39] (1935), "Musical Clock"[40] (1935), "A Love Story before Dawn"[41] (1937), "Poor A-Jui"[42] (1936) and the

[35] Known as 「鳥ノ歌」in Japanese title.
[36] Known as 「異郷にて」in Japanese title.
[37] Known as 「詩人の恋人」in Japanese title.
[38] Known as「東京郊外浪人街ー高圓寺界隈」in Japanese title.
[39] Known as「殘雪」in Japanese title.
[40] Know as「歌時計」in Japanese title.
[41] Known as「夜明け前の恋物語」in Japanese title.
[42] Known as「哀れなルイ婆さん」in Japanese title.

novella *Streets with a Port*[43] (1939)—to Taiwanese literary studies and the broader literary sphere. This strategy of comparison is designed to offer a more focused analysis of two distinct cultural contexts within these authors' works and is a groundbreaking comparison of literary works between Selvon and Weng that attempts to bring Weng's works into a broader international postcolonial scholarly arena.

Such a delayed critical response may be a result of the limited amount of research on Weng's works in Taiwan that in itself does not engage in dialogues with international academia. Therefore, the potential of Weng's works, interestingly, has long been considered to be minimal since the contribution of his works beyond the East Asian contexts and its associated cultural and socio-political values has yet to be explored. Instead of receiving a wide range of positive critical attention, Weng has long been negatively considered as a "phantom"[44] writer, one who has "no-identity or is "non-existent"[45] (虛無感) or one who "fetishises [the figure of] the Japanese woman"[46] (Lin 12) in East Asian literary communities. As recently as 1985, Chang Liang-tse[47] pointed out that Weng was a passionate and talented writer whose work has been largely unrecognised as he has been long misunderstood and misread by East Asian literary communities ("On Weng Nao" 145). More recently, seventy years after his death, Weng's texts are now gaining more positive critical attention from

[43] Known as『港のある街』in Japanese title.
[44] Said by Liu Chieh (劉捷).
[45] Said by Yang K'uei (楊逵).
[46] Said by Yang I-chou (楊逸舟).
[47] Known as 張良澤 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.

Taiwanese and Japanese scholars. However, his works are mainly studied in departments of Taiwanese literature and Japanese literature and have not yet been fully explored by these scholars, especially regarding themes of diaspora and of engaging with Western literary works and trends. For example, Taiwanese critic Shi Shu,[48] a prominent scholar in contemporary Taiwanese/Chinese literary studies, still finds it difficult to understand the literary world of Weng. She comments that his works are "unstable in narratives with no clear boundary of representation in language and genre,"[49] which parallels Xiang Yang's[50] argument that Weng's oeuvres are difficult to read (264).

Although he was little known both in the early twentieth century in Japan and in the post-war years in his homeland Taiwan, Weng's distinctive writing style in fact paved a new route for 1930s Taiwanese literature, and I would argue that he should be considered as a leading figure amongst Japanophone Taiwanese authors. Weng is believed to have died of poverty in 1940 in Tokyo, aged only 30, and he did not live long enough to see his fellow Taiwanese writers of the Neosensualist School[51] flourish either in Japan or on the world stage. Only three years after Weng's death, Taiwanese Neosensualist writer Wang Ch'ang-hsiung received

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[48] Known as 施淑 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.

[49] The original text is "敘述上不穩定，幾近消失了輪廓的語言及文體".

[50] Known as 向陽 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Pinyin system, which is used in his personal website.

[51] Weng Nao was one of the leading figures of Japanophone Taiwanese Neosensualist writing in the 1930s. The writing style of the Neosensualist school was adapted from Japanese and Western modernist writing, developed in the early decades of the twentieth century in mainland Japan. See Chapter 4 for more detailed discussion of this movement.

accolades from Japanese critic Tsurujirō Kubokawa[52] who praised the literary output of the Taiwanese Neosensualist writers more generally. Another Taiwanese Neosensualist poet and short story writer, Wu Yung-fu,[53] was invited to attend the annual conference of Taiwanese Literary Studies in the United States in 1985, aged 73 (Chang, "Anti-colonial Waves" 366; Chang, "Wu Yung-fu's Bibliography" 316). Amongst all the Taiwanese Neosensualist writers, Weng is the most outsanding in adapting Western, Japanese and Taiwanese features and the most flexible in mixing these features in his modernist literary practice. Although another prominent Taiwanese modernist writer Yu Kwang-chung[54] is also known for his (Sinophone) modernist techniques, the emergence of his works was already thirty years after Weng's Japanophone writing, which was produced in the 1930s.

Nevertheless, Japanophone Taiwanese literature is lesser known not only to the world but also to the local Taiwanese general public. The two likely causes for this are the fact that Taiwanese literary works produced during the 1930s-1940s[55] were banned by the Chinese Nationalist government on the island for nearly half a century, and that they were written in Japanese—a language that was forbidden on the island during the post-war years (Liu, "Whose Literature? Whose History? 178). It was not until recently, after Martial law was lifted on the island, that Taiwanese scholars could re-discover the missing pages in Taiwanese literary history (ibid. 178).

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[52] Known as 窪川鶴次郎 in Japan.
[53] Known as 巫永福 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.
[54] Known as 余光中 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.
[55] Taiwanese literary works written in Japanese during the 1930s-1940s are also called *Kōmin* Literature (皇民文学), which literally means colonial literature.

Recently, more works from this period have been "unearthed": for example, Weng Nao's final novella *Streets with a Port* was first researched and translated into Chinese in 2009 by Japanese scholar Sugimori Ai,[56] and this, again, suggests that this growing field urgently calls for more research for a more comprehensive understanding of the literature from this neglected period.

In the thesis, Trinidadian author Selvon's fictional praxis offers a way to analyse similar techniques in Taiwanese author Weng's works. Through a comparison of the literary works of these two authors, the thesis aims to build upon contemporary Anglophone postcolonial literary analysis as a theoretical framework and provide a basis for further exploration of the complexity of the Japanophone diasporic literary/cultural contexts in Weng's works. At the same time, it also investigates possible ways to redress the imbalance in postcolonial scholarship given that (as mentioned earlier) mainstream postcolonial studies have generated relatively little discussion of texts from the "Far East."

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The diasporic writings of Sam Selvon and Weng Nao—the central focus of this thesis—are difficult to categorise either in terms of the literature of the cultural context(s) left behind (Indo-Caribbean; Sino-Taiwanese) or the literature of new literary context(s) of arrival (London/England; Tokyo/ Japan). At most, Selvon's

[56] Known as 杉森藍 in Japanese Kanji.

novels have been considered as Anglophone literature rather than "English literature" though they are often taught in English departments in UK educational institutions. Weng's works, on the other hand, are studied by scholars/students in Chinese departments in Japan even though they are written in Japanese. Alternatively, they are researched in Chinese/Taiwanese departments in association with the Japanese sections of the foreign literary departments in Taiwan's universities. These awkward categorisations show the inadequacy of the ways in which diasporic literatures have historically been positioned within academia. Correspondingly, Taiwanese scholar David Der-wei Wang[57] therefore asserts that "diaspora literature is by no means foreign literature to all nations" (quoted in Lee's *Diasporas and Homeland Imagination* 8). It seems to be a common phenomenon that diaspora literature is not categorised as one specific national literature; rather, as its situation connotes, it is understood as a kind of foreign literature without a nationality. The intention to exclude or to include diasporic literatures within/outside of national literary departments evinces the awkwardness of categorising the "boundaries" and "locations" of literatures that in fact are "in-motion." Therefore, throughout the ensuing chapters, I attempt to discern how a diasporic identity beyond one specific national context has been created by these two authors in their literature, and to explore the role of dominant/imperial cultural values in misrepresentations of their works and the diasporic characters therein as non-belonging or lacking a definitive identity.

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[57] Known as 王德威 in Taiwan.

In order to achieve this objective, this study demonstrates three possible critical perspectives by examining diasporic identities from multiple geographical, literary/cultural and linguistic voyages, which cross the historical period of colonialism as well as the subsequent period of decolonisation. With regard to exploring diasporic identities in the works of Sam Selvon and Weng Nao, this thesis mainly focuses on Bhabha's concept of hybridity and cultural/literary ambivalences that have been influenced by multiple and detoured diasporic routes and the legacies of Western/belatedly Westernised colonial literary representations. The thesis begins by mapping the multiple cultural and geographical hybrid identities affected by detoured diasporic routes, and discusses the ways in which physical migrant journeys have been transformed into the symbolic and imaginative voyages that are often used to (re)construct diasporic identities. Further on, the thesis explores detoured/deferred modernist literary representations, which are heavily influenced by early twentieth-century European and North American modernist writings and also examines the themes of metropolitan writing and diasporas. Finally, the thesis investigates how Selvon's and Weng's detoured/deferred literary/cultural routes inflect their choices of linguistic registered literary style, and in the Taiwanese case I will also explore issues relating to how the works are being interpreted and re-introduced back to post-colonial Taiwan, a situation which is especially unique in the Japanophone Taiwanese literary context. Therefore, the three main parts outlined above are titled as follows: 1) The Voyage; 2) Writing Back to the Metropolis; and 3) Postcolonial Cultural/Literary Translations. Each part of the thesis is composed of

two chapters: the Caribbean context and the discussion of Selvon's works comes first, and the Taiwanese/Japanese context and the analysis of Weng's works then follows.

In Part One, Chapter 1 opens with Selvon's *Moses Migrating* (1983), which is the last novel of his Moses Trilogy,[58] focusing on a Trinidadian who lives in London for twenty years and journeys back "Home," but ends up experiencing a sense of displacement and non-belonging in Trinidad. This suggests that the diasporic Trinidadian identity has now been intertwined with modern British identity and transformed into a new identity that cannot be simply defined in terms of its country of origin. Based on Paul Gilroy's analysis of the significance of the physical process of migrant journeys in constructing a collective black migrant identity, embodying the historical memory of black diasporas and symbolising "a living, micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion" (4), the ship is often used as a symbol or allegorical figure to connect the diasporic experience and the colonial history of Caribbean migrants and their descendants in Britain. In this sense, it is frequently used to reconstruct a simplified triangular model of collective memory—from African slavery, or indentured labour migration from India, and the Caribbean emigrants' "secondary" diasporic journey to the imperial mother country through the narratives of physical/imaginative voyages across the sea (ibid. 4). Nevertheless, in narrating Caribbean diasporic identities, writers from different backgrounds and cultural habitus in fact present different interpretations of their own hybrid identities,

[58] Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* (1956), *Moses Ascending* (1975) and *Moses Migrating* (1983) are known as the Moses Trilogy, and were written chronologically from the 1950s to the 1980s, a period in which Britain had experienced massive cultural change after the post-Second-World-War phase of immigration and decolonisation.

rather than a collective one, which actually points up a shortcoming in the way Caribbean migrants have been subsumed within a monolithic collective "black" British identity. Instead of contextualising the significant historical moment of the *SS Empire Windrush*'s arrival, here in this chapter I explore how Selvon consciously displays his diasporic Trinidadian identity by creating a counter-journey back to Trinidad by "ship" in order to write back to such a monolithic collective identity.

Chapter 2 builds upon the argument in Chapter 1, and continues to examine the significance of Taiwanese diasporic routes in constructing and reconstructing the cultural identity of diasporic individuals as they are represented in literary works. Just as Caribbean migrants have historically undertaken complicated multiple migrant routes—forced to leave their ancestral home as slaves or sources of cheap labour and later travelling to the imperial motherland—in Weng's texts a group of young Taiwanese during the late years of Japanese colonial rule also set off on their secondary journey to the imperial motherland, Japan, to pursue further studies or in search of better career prospects. The restless geographical and cultural voyages between locations, as Weng Nao's poems "In the Foreign Land" (1935), "An Ode to Migrant Birds" (1935), "Poet's Lover" (1935) and his novella *Streets with a Port* (1939) suggest, play a crucial role in representing the routes/roots of Taiwanese diasporas and identities. This chapter also includes Wu Zhuoliu's *Orphan of Asia* (1946, English trans 2006) as a supporting text in order to flesh out the central argument in Part One that could not have properly been explored by reading Weng's works alone. From his multiple journeys between China, Taiwan and Japan, Wu

reflects upon his own (re)construction of identities inside and outside the ambivalence of existing in-between cultures, and represents such displacement and non-belonging in the way that the protagonist recognises himself as a unique individual whose ontology differs from the one that the coloniser conferred upon him within colonial Taiwan. Echoing the previous chapter, this chapter questions the efficacy of constructing the Other as a collectivity and criticises the coloniser's failure to identify the uniqueness and individual voices of different communities under the colonising gaze. Significantly, such resistant writing has long been mis-interpreted as "traitor's literature" by Chinese Nationalist discourse since the immediate post-war years, as its imperative to foreground Taiwanese/Japanese identities in literature troubled the government. In writing about resistance to Japanese colonialism, I would argue that Taiwanese diasporic writers such as Weng were never traitors; they were, in fact, fighters from the standpoint of the Taiwanese.

Chapter 3 is prompted by a literary voyage to the imperial metropolis, London, which provides diasporic writers from the former colonies with a platform for developing a multi-cultural/literary sensibility. It pursues the themes of European modernist writing through a comparison of the detoured and deferred Caribbean modernist writings of Sam Selvon and Jean Rhys. Their texts offer new perspectives on re-reading the imperial metropolis, one which has been recently figured in terms of "peripheral modernism" (Parry 30), while in this chapter, I argue that such a literary voyage has already constructed within Selvon's and Rhy's writings a new hybrid identity that is unique from those adopted by European modernist writers, and

should been seen as an innovative literary milieu rather than a continuation of European modernist writing. By exploring their experiences of racial inequality and the double colonisation of black women in literature, this chapter suggests that the black British *flâneurs* in Caribbean modernist writing reflect the black British male characters' desire for mastery of the imperial metropolitan space and female bodies in response to the masculine bias in European modernist writing and colonialist discourse. As I argue in Chapter 3, the double oppression of black women in British society reflected in literature in fact suggests the brutal reality of the struggles against racism of the newcomers in Britain. It is significant in this context that Richard Wright, in his speech to the first *Présence Africaine* Congress, argued that "black men will not be free until their women are free" (quoted in Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* 176).[59]

Chapter 4 continues this line of argument with a discussion of Japanese and Taiwanese Neosensualist writing, which has been significantly influenced by European high Modernism. This chapter intends to show how Japanese Neosensualist writers, such as Tanizaki Jun'ichrō and Kawabata Yasunari introduced writing techniques drawn from European modernist literature and transformed its traditional values in Japanese literature. In the case of Tannizaki's works, the female body (in particular the hybrid figure of the Euro-Asian living in the Westernised/modern metropolitan city) has often been used as a metaphor to reflect

[59] Jean-Francois Lyotard also points out a similar temptation in *The Inhuman: Reflections on Time*, where he observes "the notion of gender dominant in contemporary society wants this gap [sexual difference] closed, this transcendence toppled, this powerless overcome" (21). Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

Japanese "double consciousness"[60] in terms of both modernised/Westernised Japan and pre-modern Japanese values. Following the trend of Japanese modernist writing and Neosensualism, Taiwanese diasporic writers in Tokyo, on the other hand, sought to have voices of their own and published a large corpus of political pamphlets, literary magazines, fictions, and poetry collections, not only to compete with Japanese writers in the Tokyo literary field of their time, but also to construct their own cultural/literary identity as Taiwanese authors. Weng's works, for example, have long been criticised for their putative betrayal of Sino-cultural background and apparent pro-Japanese stance on colonialism, but I argue that Weng's modernist literary practice actually shows his resistance to not only Japanese colonial discourse but also to European colonialism. Echoing Chapter 3 where I discusses another modernist London context in which black women are exploited in order to bolster the black male modernist subjectivity explored in Selvon's novels, Weng's metaphorical writing on women, and more specifically the relations between "made-up" Japanese women, colonised men and the doubly colonised native women from the gaze of Taiwanese *flâneur* bespeak an even more complicated relationship beyond the ambit of the power relations in the predominant black/white gender discourse.

In Part Three, both chapters continue to explore the issue of postcolonial identity construction in the oeuvres of Selvon and Weng by focusing on the hybrid linguistic registers in postcolonial diasporic literatures, which develop as a result of

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[60] In his book *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness,* Paul Gilroy uses the term "double consciousness" to suggest the general experience of post-slave communities—the duality being "signified by the literal doubling involved in being somehow both black (African heritage) and white (Euro-American modernity)" (126-31).

the transformation of colonial languages and the adaption of colonised native languages. Chapter 5 argues that English is no longer the possession of the coloniser, but has been used widely and been transformed into various forms of World English(es). For example, through writing in a modified English, Selvon, in a way, "translates" his own culture and Trinidadian calypso to Anglophone readers from different parts of the world. I argue that the hybrid language used by diasporic writers can be seen as a signature of their diasporan routes and the in-betweenness of their cultural identities. Chapter 6 further tackles the issue of the post-war transition of Taiwan's literary language. It contends that Taiwanese colonial memory had been embodied within the use of the Japanese language. In this sense, I argue, the Chinese Nationalist Government's banning of using Japanese in the immediate post-war years the name of "decolonisation" has caused a lacuna, preventing Taiwanese culture and cultural memory from the colonial period from being passed on to the next generation. The multiple, hybrid and detoured Taiwanese linguistic identities were already integrated with the Japanese language during the colonial years and were embodied in Japanophone literature. Under the political oppression in the post-war years, the "return" to the use of "pre-colonial" language, which was used by few Taiwanese authors, was never a liberating moment for Taiwanese writers, but instead a denial of freedom of speech. However, through literary translations (from Japanese into Mandarin Chinese), Weng's works can be reintroduced back to contemporary Taiwan and given a second life. Nevertheless, they are still subject to the mediating perspective of the translator, which inevitably alters Weng's unique voice. By

conducting interviews with the translators of Weng's texts, such as Sugimori, who recently translated Weng's *Streets with a Port* (2009), and Chang Liang-tse, of the older generation of Japanese-Chinese translators, this chapter opens the first ever discussion with translators of Weng's literature on the role of the translator in re-writing Taiwanese diasporic experience in Japan. It also explores how Weng's diasporic literature has been reintroduced into post-war Taiwan after decades of unfriendly and restricted socio-political conditions for literary development.

By drawing Selvon and Weng together in this thesis, my comparison explores the complexity of contemporary diasporic migrant routes and its significance of inspiring the ways that the two authors represent their specific diasporic and multiple hybrid identities in literature. Although Selvon and Weng came from different cultural backgrounds, through the comparison in the literary metaphors, themes, techniques and linguistic adaption, it is possible to offer a forum in this translingual and transcultural literary study and further to challenge the conventional view of analytical approaches to literary and cultural studies.

Part I

The Voyage

Chapter I:

Writing across the Atlantic—

The Enigma of Never Arriving[61] and the Impossibility of Return

"Syl, why you don't go back to India boy? That is your mother country?"

"Brit'n is my country." ---Sam Selvon, The Housing Lark

In many respects this tradition of departure, and sometimes return, was at its most furious during the period of empire and colonization when countless numbers of British writers sought to define themselves, and their country, by travelling and encountering strange others who might, to some extent, affirm their sense of their own place in the global scheme of things.

---Caryl Phillips, "Necessary Journeys"

Sam Selvon and his works

Samuel Dickson Selvon, widely known as Sam Selvon (1923-1994), was a Trinidadian novelist and short-story writer of East Indian descent. Born in 1923 in Trinidad to an Indian father and an Indian/Scottish mother, Sam Selvon grew up in a Christian Indian family in San Fernado, southern Trinidad; his family did not follow the typical Hindu rituals but offered him a creolised and multicultural formative environment. Such a hybrid upbringing significantly influenced his literary production. In his early literary career in Trinidad, he worked as a journalist for the *Trinidad Guardian* in Port of Spain[62] from 1940-1945 and was literary

[61] In his special Preface to *Moses Migrating*, Sam Selvon suggests his fictional self "Moses Aloetta," as "an enigma that never arrived." Unlike V. S. Naipaul's protagonist in *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987) who arrives at the centre of the English countryside and lives closely with the elite class and the rich in England at the grand manor, Moses lives on the margins of London—usually excluded from white British society and no longer belongs to his homeland Trinidad, either.

[62] The capital of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. Located in northern Trinidad.

editor of the *Guardian Weekly*. In 1950, Selvon departed for London from Trinidad, coincidentally on the same ship as Barbadian writer George Lamming, who had taught in Trinidad for years. Both belong to a group of West Indian writers, including V. S. Naipaul, Andrew Salkey, Derek Walcott and Edward Kamau Brathwaite, who made a significant impact on the London literary scene in the latter half of the 1950s (Bentley 41). Selvon's works, including the short story collection,[63] his London novels[64] as well as his Trinidad novels,[65] have made him an influential voice in contemporary Anglophone literature.

Dubbed the "father of black Literature" and an "alchemist of language,"[66] Selvon writes across the Atlantic between Trinidad and London, and illustrates a deliberate crossing from a creolised East/West Indian voice[67] in Trinidad to that of a Caribbean writer in London (Dabydeen "West Indian Writers" 71-4; Nasta, *Home Truths* 70). Set either in London or Trinidad, his works do indeed extend across a crucial period of the emergence of "black" literature in Britain that demonstrates the significance of the history and the development of the literatures of the Caribbean diasporas (Nasta, *Home Truths* 70-71). In particular, his London tales, set during the period between 1950 and the mid-1980s, have created a literary space concerning and articulating the specific experiences of a marginalised group of

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[63] *Ways of Sunlight* (1957).
[64] *The Lonely Londoners* (1956), *The Housing Lark* (1965), *Moses Ascending* (1975) and *Moses Migrating* (1983).
[65] *A Brighter Sun* (1952), *An Island Is a World* (1955), *Turn Again Tiger* (1958), *I Hear Thunder* (1963), *The Plains of Caroni* (1970) and *Those Who Eat the Cascadura* (1972).
[66] Dabydeen, David. "West Indian Writers in Britain" 71-4.
[67] This will be further discussed in Chapter 6 "Sam Selvon's Linguistic Representation of Diasporic Caribbean Identity in Literature."

individuals living across at least two different cultural backgrounds. Encountering the imperial centre, Selvon's London texts present readers with the individual stories and adventures of several West Indian working-class immigrants to Britain, including Moses Aloetta, Henry Oliver (nicknamed Sir Galahad), Harris, Big City, Old Cap, Lewis, Bartholemew and Five Past Twelve in *The Lonely Londoners*, and Sylvester, Gallows, Alfonso, Fitzwilliams, de Norbriga and Poor-me-One in *The Housing Lark*. Some of them have been living in London for years whilst some of them have just arrived. By portraying this spectrum of characters, he tackles the issue of self-identification and how the diasporic life experience affects this psychological process. Similarly to some of his Caribbean contemporaries, Selvon's works represent a microcosm of the large number of West Indians moving to Britain in the fifties. In order to distinguish his writings, Selvon suggests in his second novel of the Moses Trilogy, *Moses Ascending* (1975), that his approach to representing Caribbean identity is not like that of Salkey or Lamming, who attempt to "create a Black Literature" by depicting "big events" or emblematising the struggles of the entire black population. Rather, he sheds the spotlight on minor characters and depicts a more personal and intimate experience for the individual, as exemplified by *Moses Ascending* and his earlier novels *A Brighter Sun* (1952) and *The Lonely Londoners* (1956).[68] Selvon's strategy in the Moses Trilogy is to

[68] The quotation from *Moses Ascending* covering this context is as follows:
"What shit is that you writing?"
"I am composing my Memoirs," I say stiffly…
"You don't know one fucking thing about what's happening, Moses."
"Memoirs are personal and intimate," I say. "They don't have to be topical nor deal with social problems."

portray the intimate relationship between the main character Moses and his fellow West Indian friends, which imbues his narratives with a vivid realism and creates the effect of these specific stories and episodes being related to the reader by a close friend. In this context it is significant that Selvon should be dubbed the father of "Black Literature," rather than Lamming or Salkey.

A likely source of Selvon's success is probably because he gives each character in the novels his/her own specific personality and unique identity. He illustrates their similar, yet divergent life experiences and diasporic routes to Britain—although the characters in the novels come from West Indian islands, they come from different countries and have different backgrounds, and it seems highly possible that they might have never encountered one another or have little knowledge about people from other islands of the Caribbean. In order to identify this difference and uniqueness, Selvon keeps reminding his readers through different episodes in his narratives that different diasporic journeys and life experiences play a crucial role in constructing diasporic Caribbean identity in his works. In fact, the way he approaches the transatlantic voyage and the transformation of identity is highly innovative and insightful; however, there are not many critical discussions that consider his work from this perspective.

[…]
"You think writing book is like kissing hand? You should leave that to people like Lamming and Salkey."
"Who?"
Galahad burst out laughing. Derisively too. "You never heard of them?"
"…Man, Moses you are still living in the Dark Ages! You don't even know we have created a Black Literature…" (49-50).

Therefore, the following section will explore how Selvon uses the diasporic voyage as a literary metaphor in order to suggest how the process significantly affects the transformation of identity for the diasporic subject.

The questions to be addressed here are: How does this affect the identity construction behind the transformation suggested in Selvon's works? How and why does Selvon use the voyage and the ship's crossing of the sea as a metaphor? Why is this significant to an understanding of Selvon's works? In order to answer these questions, I will begin by exploring Selvon's last novel from the Moses Trilogy, *Moses Migrating*, to discuss how Selvon retraces Caribbean (specifically Trinidadian) migrant routes/roots and what they mean to a diasporic subject like Moses. Then, I will discuss another London text, *The Housing Lark* (1965), focusing on Selvon's portrayal of different cultural identities amongst East Indians, Indo-Trinidadians and Afro-Jamaicans living in the metropolis. In the last part of this chapter, I will continue to examine Selvon's unique literary treatment of the journey across the Atlantic by comparing his work to Caryl Phillips's *The Final Passage* (1985) and *In the Falling Snow* (2009), which are two more recent successful novels about Caribbean migrant journeys and diasporic identity.

Journey back "Home" in *Moses Migrating*

Narrated from the perspective of the main character Moses Aloetta, who migrates from Trinidad to Britain in the early 1950s and lives in London for a period of several decades, Sam Selvon's *Moses Migrating* (1983) was published after his

other two London novels, *The Lonely Londoners* (1956) and *Moses Ascending* (1975). It depicts a West Indian's migrant journey back to Trinidad and his strong sense of non-belonging within his childhood homeland in Trinidad. If we recall the very end of *The Lonely Londoners*, the protagonist Moses stands by the River Thames recalling his blurred memory of sunshine and beaches in the Caribbean. However, instead of returning to Trinidad, he chooses to stay in the same spot where he has lived for another ten years, listening to his fellow West Indian friends' kiff-kiff laughter as well as the Caribbean ballads and attending Sunday gatherings with stories of his black British friends. In Selvon's final novel of the Moses Trilogy, *Moses Migrating*, the protagonist Moses finally journeys back to Trinidad after decades living in London city in order to express his "support" for the Conservatives' "keep Brit'n White" campaign. The novel's opening scene reveals the reality of continuous displacement and despair for the diasporic subject through his ironic portrayal of the extremist speech by Enoch Powell. In the "supportive" letter to Mr Powell to claim £2,000 for going back to Trinidad, Moses writes as follows:

> "Dear Mr Powell, though Black I am writing [sic] you to express my support for your campaigns to keep Brit'n White, as I have been living here for more than twenty years and I have more black enemies than white and I have always tried to integrate successfully in spite of discrimination and prejudices according to race. Though I am deciding to return to Trinidad it is grieving me no whit and it is only your kind offer to subsidise

> such black immigrants as desire to return to their homelands that will make it possible for me. I will therefore [sic] grateful to receive my assisted passage money, and the £2,000 capital which will start me off when I go. As a proof that I have no ill-feelings or animosity for your sentiments re blacks, and in gratitude for your assistance, if I open a business when I go home I will call it Enoch-aided Enterprises, or some such title that will show what your true feelings are, and not like the newspapers and television that try to defame you, though I would not bother with that so much if I were you, as they do the same thing to black people." (Selvon, *Moses Migrating* 29-30)

Selvon's use of humour in this passage actually underscores the brutal reality that West Indian migrants were living under racial oppression in post-war British society. Like his work *The Lonely Londoners*, which was published soon after Selvon's arrival in London in 1950 and which highlights this problem, in *Moses Migrating* Selvon continues to show that the conditions for West Indian migrants have not improved after he (or his fictional self, Moses) has spent twenty years living in Britain. Instead, when Margaret Thatcher came to power in 1979, the Conservative campaign made the situation worse. During the immediate post-war years, West Indian immigrants presumably thought they were heading to an imperial motherland that would greet them with a warm welcome. However, the majority of white British society was not yet ready to accept them and many wanted them sent back to wherever they came from. As literary critic Maya Jaggi points out, such instances of racial discrimination and conflict usually happen due to mutual bewilderment ("Rites of Passage" 8). When these conflicts happened during

the Thatcher era, it was a time when British society was just beginning to understand why some young Caribbean immigrants were involved in brutal fights with the police and also why black British voices were eager to be heard (ibid. 8). In order to help white British society to have a better understanding of the struggles of West Indians, Selvon's novels reveal the harsh reality that his fictional characters "only [laugh] because they afraid to cry" when they realise that living in their dream destination is not like what they previously envisioned before departure (Ramchand et al. 60). Selvon's earlier works which are set in London during the 1950s-60s, *The Lonely Londoners* and *The Housing Lark* (1965) all contribute to revealing a world to white British society that was previously unknown to them. Selvon achieves this by telling stories about a group of immigrants from the Caribbean who come to London in a state of excitement but then usually end up disappointed. Following the sociopolitical commentary in his earlier novels that represents how the West Indian "boys" suffer discrimination and struggle in order to survive in London, *Moses Migrating* builds upon this theme of the harsh living conditions for West Indian migrants living in Britain by using an ironic tone which expresses "acceptance" of and "gratitude" for their circumscribed position within British society.

The journey across the Atlantic has long hold mythical associations for many Caribbeans, carrying the memory of colonialism that links the three corners of the Middle Passage—Africa, Europe, and the Americas. It is widely recognised that the image of the ship is significant for the diasporic identity of Caribbean peoples as it

functions as a symbolic reminder of where they came from and where they were requested to return to. Therefore, instead of flying home, Selvon designs a sophisticated counter-journey for Moses who boards a ship back to Trinidad in order to "write back to" the symbolic and mythical journey of crossing the Atlantic by ship. Selvon's strategic portrayal of the journey and his use of the image of the ship in *Moses Migrating* in fact reverses the way that identity and sense of "home" for the diasporic Caribbean subject are conventionally represented. Utilising humour, Selvon tells the story of a Trinidadian-born man who experiences a sense of displacement upon his return to his Caribbean homeland by ironising the trials of the Middle Passage. For instance, the protagonist Moses travels with his new identity as a black Londoner and takes a counter-journey back to Trinidad. In *Moses Migrating* Selvon therefore offers an alternative perspective to depict the significance of the journey across the Atlantic from the other way round—from England to the Caribbean and from the perspective of a black British man. Unlike Caryl Phillips's migration narratives and critical essays, which chart the Atlantic triangles of Europe, Africa and the Americas by harking back to his ancestors' migrant passage from Africa to the Caribbean, and then to his own immigration to England—such as *Crossing the River* (1993) and non-fictional works like *The Atlantic Sound* (2000), *A New World Order* (2001), and most recently *In the Falling Snow* (2009) and *Colour Me English* (2011)—Selvon tends to focus on writing about the impossibility of return rather than seeking any romantic or "authentic" links with an ancestral homeland or migration experience of previous

generations.

In the novel, Selvon deploys the different "social statuses" of Moses and his white newlywed friends, Bob and Jeannie, who also appear in his second London novel *Moses Ascending,* by depicting Bob and Jeannie's stay in a first-class cabin while Moses himself travels in the third-class cabin by the engine room, which is the cheapest of all the third-class tickets. In so doing, he suggests that Moses lives in the poorest conditions as a third-class citizen within London society. However, during the voyage Moses is invited up to the first class area for his trip "home." As a black Londoner returning to Trinidad, Moses finds himself more comfortable when he goes up to the first-class bar as most of the passengers there are whites, and "that helps [him] to unwind a little" (Selvon, *Moses Migrating* 53). He therefore stays longer in the first-class section of the ship than in his own small room in third-class. While he is back in Trinidad, Moses stays in the island's most luxurious hotel like the white tourists who only make the journey in order to attend Trinidad's biggest annual Carnival. He also discovers that his speech is unlike any of the islanders in Trinidad. For example, his nanny Tanty cries out suddenly in spite of causing embarrassment to Moses: "Listen how he talk! […] Just like white people! Keep on talking, Moses, I love to hear you!" (ibid. 111). This reveals that after twenty-five years in London, Moses takes many elements of his London life with him on his return to Trinidad.

In this novel Selvon reveals Moses's orphaned status, a fact which he does not declare in any of the previous books in the Moses Trilogy. After living in

London for decades, Moses's link with his childhood in Trinidad is relatively weak. As he has almost lost contact with Tanty Flora who adopted him and brought him up in St John, on arrival, he does not recognise Tanty immediately when he first sees her. Moses's masquerading as the "whitewashed black man" signifies his arrival in Trinidad as an instance of "displacement" within his childhood hometown, where he directs a taxi driver the wrong way to the Hilton hotel. Besides that, the episode when Moses ventures out to look for a much longed-for "glass of mauby" on Frederick Street, again, shows his loss of contact with Trinidad, a home where he no longer belongs (Nasta, "Introduction" to *Moses Migrating* 15). In Nasta's account, Selvon uses this symbolic scene to explore complex questions of colonial and postcolonial lineages and of his own diasporic identity (ibid. 13). Like many other returnees and emigrants, as Nasta argues, Moses is both a child of Empire and a foreigner within it (ibid. 13). His ambiguous position in both Trinidad and London makes him "an orphan of the world" (ibid. 13).

Aside from the voyage by ship, the novel has another central focus—the Carnival, an event which is symbolic of Trinidadian culture and the major motivation for Moses's white London friends Bob and Jeannie to visit the island. However, Moses discovers the Carnival has "evolved" into a more sanitised, tourist-friendly festival designed to make profits instead of preserving its association with traditional values. Held once a year, the Carnival can be traced to a Caribbean tradition of slave resistance and in the ancestral masking rituals through which people express their respect to the old customs of warriorhood in Trinidad

(Nasta, "Introduction" to *Moses Migrating*" 15; Cowley 12). The two-day masquerade historically provided a moment for struggling Trinidadians to forget their hardships and to lose themselves in the excitement of the Carnival. In his novel Selvon also suggests that it is a fantasy created not only for Western tourists, in order to fulfil their imagined notions of what "authentic" or "original" Trinidadian culture looks like, but also for returnees like Moses. In the novel, Selvon's fictional self, Moses, plans to play "Black Britannia" in the masquerade by using Jeannie and Bob as his white handmaiden and slave and through his portrayal of Britannia he seeks to invert the colonial "civilising mission" not only with the motive of drawing attention to the fading traditional Carnival values by such subversion, but also to "masquerade" his fantasy self after decades of living in London. When the Carnival ends, the fantasy atmosphere is no longer there. Moses suddenly realises that moving back to Trinidad is also a fantasy and he must go back to his "mansion" in Shepherd's Bush, which is more like his "home" now than Trinidad. His love for Doris, too, cannot last long before the Carnival's craziness and fake happiness ends. The fantasy ends when the Carnival ends—everything goes back to normal and the joyful atmosphere created for the tourists no longer exists. Therefore, people in Trinidad still need to face the reality of social problems and a lack of job opportunities that reminds the emigrants of why they left for Britain to seek better prospects.

Echoing this scenario, Salman Rushdie reminds us that the faraway (original) home for diasporic individuals, like himself, has become an illusion, and continuity

is their actual reality ("Imaginary Homelands" 428). Moses's position of returning "home" changes from that of a returnee to that of a tourist and his stay in the Trinidad Hilton metaphorically suggests his displacement in Trinidad. His Trinidadian identity has been changed into a new "postcolonial identity" that is irreversible. For Selvon himself, an original, "primitive" Trinidadian or even East Indian identity is no longer available, and the concept of "home" for the diasporic subject has also changed, as Simon Gikandi similarly observes:

> [Postcolonial diasporic] identity can no longer be structured by the myth of return to origins, and [sic] since postcolonial narrative can function as a mechanism for deconstructing the epistemology of the sources themselves, or as a metacommentary on previous narratives of return and identity. Indeed, the myth of return in postcoloniality is more complex than the simple opposition between home and exile—it is plagued by conflicts and pluralities that emerge from the histories that migrancy seeks to leave behind (*Maps of Englishness* 199).

In the passage above, Gikandi points out that postcolonial identity is not constructed by the myth of return and suggests that it is in fact shaped by the past, the present and the future, negotiating between the new host country and the old homeland. Sometimes, for postcolonial diasporic individuals, it is not so difficult to understand how they want to position themselves and what they would like to become, but it is usually the dominant colonial discourse that posits a static image

of the primitive or original past that these individuals hope to return to. The ambivalence of postcolonial identity is actually like a dialogue between power and resistance, refusal and recognition, and it is not always a question of searching for one point of origin.

Accordingly, the following section explores Selvon's novel *The Housing Lark*, which also tackles similar issues surrounding the impossibility of return, focusing on the sense of separation from ancestral cultural roots. Although there is no direct description of the migrant voyage in this text, the metaphor of the cultural route plays a crucial role. It is important to note that the significance of the cultural route here is not based on the idea of return but on that of a richer cultural heritage and the construction of a new multiple, hybrid postcolonial diasporic identity.

On *The Housing Lark*

Selvon's *The Housing Lark* starts with the main character Syl (Sylvester), a West Indian man with East Indian ancestry who looks for a place to stay upon his arrival in London. It is a tragicomedy that tells the story of West Indian immigrants who dream of buying their own house in London in order to settle down as they are typically offered the worst places to live when they first arrive in the city. Through the episode involving the West Indian character Syl (Sylvester), who seeks a room with English landlords who always exclude "Kolors,"[69] but sometimes make an

[69] Those who are from the West Indian islands or "the Blacks" from the rest of the world.

exception for those more educated visitors "from the Orient,"[70] Selvon points to the racialised divisions which were often accepted without question and meant that (East) Indians are in a higher hierarchy than West Indians and black people (See also Nasta, *Home Truths* 71). Selvon portrays this passage in a way that indicates the existence of rigid colonialist hierarchies and racial stereotypes in Britain (See also ibid. 61). Growing up in the creolised West Indies, Selvon therefore pursues a route of creolisation in depicting his fictional characters in such a way that eschews these racial stereotypes. As Selvon remarks of his own ambivalent racial identity as an Indo-Caribbean: "the Caribbean man of East Indian descent was something else. He wasn't accepted by those from India, and he wasn't wanted by the others because he wasn't a black man so he couldn't understand what was going on" (Selvon, "Three into One Can't Go" 212-7). As Selvon has also argued that England in the 1950s exhibited a polarised racial climate in which he, as an Indo-Caribbean man, found it hard to get a job even at India House because he was not, as he puts it, a "real Indian" from India ("The Open Society or Its Enemies" 58-9). *The Housing Lark* humorously illustrates the absurd changes that the (West Indian) immigrant characters have to go through to persuade hostile landlords to take them in. Note, for example, the episode in which Syl tries every trick he knows to act like a "real" Indian to prevent himself from being identified as a "West" Indian by his putatively "Indian" roommate, Mr Ram, who is actually from Jamaica:

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[70] Those who directly come from India.

The landlord come in. “What are you doing?” he ask.
“I am practicing my yoghourt[71],” Syl say.
“I have had a word with Mr Ram,” the Englisher say, “and it is obvious that you are the one who is not from India.”
Syl come off his head and stand on his feet, "Are you talking about Mother India?" he say.
[...]
"You are flying under false colours, you are from the West Indies. I cannot stand those immigrants, I am sorry to say."
[…]
"You look like an Indian, but you are from the same islands as those immigrants. You will have to go."
[…]
"Mr Ram has confirmed that you are not from the East."
"I used to live in the East End," Syl say hopefully.
"That is not far enough East," the Englisher say.

Well a week later Syl chance to meet Batterby and give him the story. "If it wasn't for that damn Ram," he say, "a man would of still had a place to live."
"Wait a minute," Bat say, "is a fellar with a big beard, and he always wearing a turban?"
"That is the scamp," Syl say.
"Man," Bat say, "that is a fellar from Jamaica what I send to the same house for a room!"
(Selvon, *The Housing Lark* 32-33)

[71] Selvon’s intention by using “yoghourt” here is to imply that Syl is pretending to do yoga, a traditional Indian practice. He tries to say he is from India in order to find accommodation in London, while he actually lives a Westernised life both in Trinidad and in London, and identifies himself differently from those who are directly from India.

The passage above illustrates Syl's surprise at the ignorance and the narrowness of vision of the English people when identifying people from different national backgrounds who were once members of the Empire. Syl is soon recognises that his native island of Trinidad is frequently reduced to nothing more than an insignificant dot on the map, and the "mother-country" is not the "fountainhead of knowledge" that his colonial education had promised him (See also Nasta, *Home Truths* 61). In the novel Selvon immediately points to the relative unimportance of West Indian migrants within English society, and suggests that the majority of English people are ignorant about the history of their colonies and the differences between people from India, Indo-Trinidadians and Afro-Jamaicans, but are very aware of specific types of alcoholic drinks—"red liquers [sic], blue liquers [sic], brandies of all descriptions, wines from the vines of France and Spain, rum from Haiti and Cuba, hock and ale from Cornwall, palm wines from Africa" (Selvon, *The Housing Lark* 8). By making fun of English people as experts on alcohol drinks, Selvon reveals that the only thing that seems to be clear: as long as you are not white you are black, and it does not matter where exactly you come from (See also Nasta, *Home Truths* 61; Iyengar 22).

Another example can be found in the following passage in *The Housing Lark* which suggests that English people cannot identify the differences between Jamaica and Trinidad:

> All you interested in is that he black—to English people, every black look the same. And to tell you he come from Trinidad and not Jamaica—them two places a thousand miles apart—won't matter to you, because to Englishers the West Indies is the West Indies, and if a man say he come from Tobago or St. Luvia [sic] or Grenada, you none the wiser (24).

Also in the novel, another Jamaican man named Harry earns a living by making up "fake" Calypso, which is actually Trinidadian music, but English people cannot tell the difference. Below is the passage from the conversation between a Trinidadian girl Jean and the Jamaican musician Harry:

> "All-you Jamaicans don't know calypso," Jean scoffed. "Trinidad is the place."
> "Hear you!" Harry say, "I does make up my own tunes and words."
> "In any case," she go on, "them English people won't know the difference." (ibid. 24)

This episode infers that the English audience is ignorant of the differences between Trinidadian music Calypso and the "fake" Calypso made by a Jamaican musician. Here Selvon seems to imply that different Caribbean cultures and individuals, as hybrid Others, are insignificant to British society. As Stuart Hall points out, Caribbean identity is often superficially and artificially defined in terms of belonging to collective "selves" with one's true self hiding inside an imposed "shared" history and ancestral roots ("Cultural Identity and Diaspora" 435). Within

this conception of "oneness," Caribbean identity cannot really stand for what Caribbean people really are, but what they have become. Besides, it does not matter if there is a single identity that is seen as "Caribbean," it is usually a name given by a regime of power within which Caribbean nationals are circumscribed. Very often, those who have the power make the other see and experience themselves as what the regime wants them to be/become—as "Other." Indeed, if we further look further into the formation of the collective Caribbean identity through the Windrush myth, we can have a better understanding of how the dominant colonialist identitarian discourse works.

The Windrush myth and the construction of Caribbean identity within Britain

The arrival of the *SS Empire Windrush* is now widely considered one that epitomised a larger-scale set of departures of Caribbean's post-war migrants to Britain. Marking a new phase in British history, the journeys of the *SS Empire Windrush* and other similar voyages are also commonly considered as the symbolic events which are crucial to understanding Caribbean diasporic identity as well as the colonial histories of the slave trade and of indentured labour across the Atlantic. The image of the ship has now become a literary repository for the collective memory of black West Indian diasporic communities in Britain.

Indeed, as diasporic experiences originate in a journey, the physical process of diasporic migration is often used as a central organising symbol of the collective memory of postcolonial diasporas. The whole process which forms the diasporic

experience, in this sense, constitutes a ship as a transport for migration, a journey as a route from an existing familiar social milieu to a new, unfamiliar one, and a port or a capital of the (colonial) power centre as a destination. Without a mode of transport and a journey, the *physical* process cannot be completed. As Paul Gilroy suggests, the movement of crossing the Atlantic and the image of the ship as a major mode of transport for Caribbean and African migration embodies diasporic historical memory and symbolises "a living, micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion" (4). The passage of crossing the sea, in this sense, is a symbolic transitional space which inflects the mutability of diasporic identities involving the location of cultures across Europe, America, Africa and the Caribbean. Based on Gilroy's account, the passage can also be seen as a defining chronotope (space-time image) used to explore the concept of "crossing the sea," which offers new a route towards an understanding of the cross-pollination of ideas that marks cultural exchange between locations. The diasporic journey and passage to the imperial motherland for the migrants therefore ensures them a route of entry into the imperial terrain of the modern, and heading for Britain might be contradictory to the belief of revalorising ancestral sources from Africa and India and for seeking Caribbean identity.

After the Second World War, West Indians boarded different ships crossing the Atlantic by invitation from Britain at a rate of over 25,000 people a year to help rebuild the "Mother Country"—some of them worked in factories, some worked in the transport sector, while still others worked in the medical field (Prescott 19;

Dabydeen, "West Indian Writers in Britain" 64). Among the immigrants arriving on the ships were a few aspiring writers, known as the "Windrush generation," a group that includes James Berry, Edward Kamau Brathwaite, Sam Selvon, George Lamming, Andrew Salkey, Michael Anthony, Stuart Hall, V. S. Naipaul, Jan Carew and Wilson Harris (Dabydeen, "West Indian Writers in Britain" 64). Coming from different islands and arriving on different ships, these early writers shared a common passion to delineate their selfhood and to tell stories of their own. Most importantly of all, they wished to "[make] their country and their people known accurately to the rest of the world"[72] (ibid. 64). However, diasporic Caribbean writers with different backgrounds and cultural habitus give various interpretations of their voyages and how it is linked to the construction of Caribbean identities. For example, Caryl Phillips, who is practically of the second generation of Caribbean migrant writers in Britain and who came to Britain as a young child, and Sam Selvon, who belongs to the first generation of Trinidadian immigrants and who arrived in London at the age of twenty-eight, deal with Caribbean identity in very distinctive ways.

Sam Selvon and Caryl Phillips

Unlike Sam Selvon, who left his birthplace of Trinidad at the age of twenty-eight, Caryl Phillips was raised and educated in Britain. Phillips's concept of "home" and the Caribbean migrant identity that is constructed within Britain is quite divergent

[72] Dabydeen quotes Sam Selvon. The "rest of the world," as Dabydeen explains, might refer to England in Selvon's day.

from what it is for the writers of the first generation, who had a much more tangible sense of the Caribbean "homeland." Phillips's literary construction of "Caribbean identity" also differs from that of writers with sense memories of their Caribbean homeland. Though born on the Caribbean island St Kitts, Phillips arrived in England as a four-month-old infant with his parents in the summer of 1958, and soon made another journey north to Leeds. He was educated in the English school system, and later studied English literature and language at Queen's College, Oxford University. For Phillips, his birthplace, St Kitts, is a "home" with which he is unfamiliar, and the migrant journey for him can only be re-experienced through reading literature and from listening to his parents' stories, which offered a traceable route for uncovering a sense of his Caribbean cultural identity. After university, he lived in Edinburgh and then London for some time. At the age of 22, Phillips took his first journey back to St Kitts, where he felt somewhat at home, but also aware that he did not belong. The migrant voyage across the Atlantic ocean as he portrays in his fictional texts is based on his parents' stories as well as symbolic historical events used as foils or touchstones (See also Ledent 75). Ledent also explains that the way Phillips constructs his Caribbean identity or black identity within his writing owes much to his experiences living in Britain and his travels to Europe, addressing the way the majority of Europeans confront black people, including himself (ibid. 75). For instance, Caryl Phillips writes in the essay "Necessary Journeys," regarding his English identity and upbringing in Yorkshire:

> I was born in the Caribbean and journeyed to Britain in the late 50s as an infant […] That I grew up in Yorkshire, in the north of England, as a working-class boy, has also had a deep-seated effect upon me. That I went first to grammar school, then to a comprehensive, and from there to a prestigious older university—this has all fed who I am (6).

Here Phillips himself explains his upbringing in Britain as he has been struggling for quite a long while to argue his home is actually England. In his work *The Final Passage* (1985), which explores how his Caribbean identity has been constructed through the link with the migrant voyage and the ship, he actually represents a different concept of his Caribbean "home" than Sam Selvon does in his works discussed earlier in this chapter. Published much later than many of the typical pieces by members of the Windrush generation, *The Final Passage* suggests that the migrant ship is embodied within a collective memory of the Caribbean diasporic communities in the UK, which resembles W. E. B. Du Bois's Pan-Negroism and Pan-Africanism. Although Pan-Africanism's appeal to a unifying concept of cultural identification that seeks the "origins" of African and Afro-Caribbean cultures, constructing "Africa" as "a country of the mind" and "an eternal homeland, " has potential for the construction of a black identity, it has its limitation as an ideology and depersonalises the hybridity and uniqueness of Caribbean identities that were constituted by multiple cultural legacies that cross Europe, America and Africa or Asia. The collective creation of Africans or blackness can be traced to Aimé Césaire's adaption of the word *nègre* as a term of

defiance since black people have long lived in an atmosphere of rejection and negative stereotypes that has generated a desire for solidarity. In Césaire's account, only when peoples of African descent establish a concrete consciousness of "one" singular population with a shared memory and history, can the notion of blackness—a distinctive mode of being and a collective identity—be constructed solidly and be used to distinguish black subjects from white culture. In this sense, a unified black culture can therefore be used to foreground the equal value of black cultures and intellectual traditions. However, linking Caribbean identity to the notion of the *présence Africane* seems to be risky overlooking the fact that the experience and memory of each Caribbean subject can be so divergent. Jacques Stéphen Alexis suggests that the Caribbean's literary works should reflect its broken histories, different temporalities and creolised cultural identities (Dash, "Marvellous Realism" 57-70). René Depestre, though he does not deny the element of African heritage in Caribbean cultural identity, contends that Négritude's indifference to the diverse material conditions of cultural constitution might depersonalise Caribbean identity in its literature ("Problems of Identity for the Black Man in the Caribbean" 61-7). Therefore, Négritude might be useful for resisting the concept of whiteness, but it limits how we can understand the multiplicity of Caribbeanness.

Phillips's metaphorical concept of the "home" differs from Selvon's as it is an idea that was constructed within Britain, whereas Selvon's was constructed upon his personal experience of living between two locations. Even so, as noted earlier,

Selvon still suggests a feeling of displacement in his childhood home in Trinidad. The concept of "home" in the Caribbean differs between accounts by first and second generation migrants, as the concept of "home" for the second generation was always "ideally" constructed abstractly within the traumatic racialised climate in Britain in order to escape the suffering in real life, whilst for the first generation it was a place that could not guarantee them job opportunities and had its social problems.

The story of the Windrush migration for Caryl Phillips, however, was reconstructed through the family narratives and by the traumatic experience of living in England. Indeed, Phillips's first novel *The Final Passage* has gained very positive feedback in the English-speaking world as a classic narrative of subtle psychical conditions and transformations as a result of migration. In the novel, he successfully characterises the desperate journeys undertaken by the Afro-Caribbean migrants to convey a sense of restlessness, and evokes the migrant journeys made by his African ancestors and his parents from the Caribbean to England (See also Silku 164). The migrant journey narrated in the story has long been believed to signify the first phase of the general process of early Caribbean migration. The story of the young female protagonist, Leila, who migrates from a Caribbean island to London with her husband and son to seek a better life, reflects the stories of the migrant voyage across the Atlantic of Phillips' parents; for Phillips himself, however, the family narrative can only reconstruct for him a mosaic picture and an imaginary "home" of which he has no sense memories.

The stories of the heroine in the novel (Leila) and of her family contextualise the significant historical moment of the arrival of the *SS Empire Windrush* in June 1948. The ship carried 492 passengers from the Caribbean who sailed to Britain to work, and was one of the first of many ships to transport West Indian migrants to Britain throughout the immediate post-war decades (Silku 165; Weeden 76). As mentioned earlier, Gilroy contends the image of the ship embodies the memory of the slave trade in connection with both industrialisation and modernisation and helps to articulate the more recent histories of black immigration over the past history that connects with colonial modernity and its prehistory (4-17). In this sense, the ship, as Gilroy argues, then provides us with a way of re-envisioning Western modernity via the articulation of the history of the black Atlantic and the African diasporas (17). In his collection of critical essays *A New World Order* (2001), Phillips further explains Gilroy's viewpoints on the significance of such voyages. Following the symbolic voyage of the *SS Empire Windrush*, the ships the *Orbita*, the *Reina del Pacifico*, and the *Georgic*, amongst others, that arrived in Britain, Phillips acknowledges that many of the immigrants might have never encountered the white cliffs of Dover or seen the south-east coast of England on arrival (Phillips, *A New World Order* 265). Comparable to the limitations of Négritude, constructed in Césaire's poetry as basically "a textually invented history"[73] and "a tropological constitution,"[74] positing the white cliffs as an exclusionary symbol or geographical point of orientation for constructing a monolithic diasporic Caribbean identity is

[73] See Parry, "Resistance Theory/Theorising Resistance," p.p. 45.
[74] Ibid.

problematic. In this context, the *Windrush* stands not for multiplicity or diversity; rather it functions as a reductive and monolithic symbol for all those occasions when black people have become part of the British nation and stepped off each separate individuality (Phillips and Phillips 6). The *Windrush* myth has thus gained symbolic status and power; however, its depiction in literature is not typically based on historical accuracy but rather on the repeated inscription of this moment and a process of reconstruction based on the domestic consciousness of the white Britons, which confirms and validates the arrival and continuing presence of a collective Caribbean community. To further analysis this, we can look into two opposing views. From one side, this reveals the issue in the dominant discourse that the image or the concept of minority groups in Britain remains unclear and not being recorded in detail. Whilst from the other hand side, such an abstract but united collective identity might contribute to allying different black populations for political struggle in order to achieve the ultimate goal of liberation.

In constructing such a symbol to include the cultural memory of the Caribbean or black British Other, Phillips might have to compromise and be at a risk of constructing an irrational ideology in order to achieve the latter goal mentioned above. Instead of identifying the uniqueness and specificity of what the individual author tries to convey in his or her own works, what remains clear in the reconstructed collective memory is the idea that on this specific date (22 June 1948) the Windrush docked at Tilbury carrying 492 Jamaican migrants, inaugurating the process of post-war mass migration to Britain (See also Mead, “Empire Windrush”

147). In fact, the *Windrush* carried more than 492 West Indian immigrants on board, and the passengers were from Trinidad, British Guiana, St Lucia, Barbados, Uganda, Kenya, Italy and even Scotland; nevertheless, the *Windrush* myth usually focuses only on the unsettled Jamaican passengers, who become a synecdoche for all the Caribbean immigrants (ibid.142-6). However, this might be of little importance in terms of reconstructing collective identity from the gaze of the dominant culture, as cultural memory of the Other is often not established by precise documentation but rather by repeating the same stories over and over again (See also Mead, "Empire Windrush" 146). Thus, it then implies that the history and life experiences of the other have been (un)consciously ignored, suppressed or negatively responded by the dominant white British society. Therefore, I argue such over simplified and monolithic construction of black immigrant identity might not be the best solution for the construction of the subjectivity and the identity of immigrant individuals, but can again lead to a black ideology that fails to acknowledge the sophisticated hybridity and the specificity of the divergent cultures in the colonised world and within postcolonial diasporic communities.

Unlike Phillips, Selvon and Lamming take a different strategy for the construction of Caribbean identity. In *The Lonely Londoners* and *The Housing Lark* Selvon always clearly distinquishes the Indo-Trinidadians from those who came directly from India when arriving in Britain even though they share the same ancestral heritage. In his novels Selvon always seeks to depict an image of the Trinidadian (and Caribbean) people as multiethnic and multiracial and indicates

that no single colour, class, tribal or ethnic label can define who they are (Ramchand et al. 59). Lamming, as well, always suggests that West Indies are not "African" in *The Emigrants*.[75]

Instead of serving to foreground a stereotypical image of "black" people, Selvon's satirical style of narration challenges the foundations on which such misconceptions are formed and constructs his characters as individuals, rather than recreating a racial or subcultural character in order to problematise a contexualised ideology of representation in terms of dominant/white literary and cultural debates in the fifties (See also Bentley 43-44). In the mainstream of white British culture, black individuals were marginalised within dominant power frameworks during this time period. It is very likely, argues Bentley, that the lack of political articulation amongst the marginalised subcultural groups thereby led to a lack of dialogue between the dominant culture and the marginalised discourses of class and race (44). Selvon's novels on the other hand seek to retrieve specific stories of the marginalised in order to challenge the over-generalised experience of the putatively collective Caribbean migrant imagination (ibid. 44).

Nevertheless, Phillips's multiple attachments to Africa, Europe and Americas do give him a transnational outlook for the issue of racial conflicts in the UK and he even tries to find connections with African-American experience in the United States.[76]

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[75] See in particular pages 130, 149, 154, 161-4, 171, 225.

[76] Phillips says in the essay "Following on: The Legacy of Lamming and Selvon" (1999): "I could connect with the frustrations of the African-American writers, and I could certainly identify with the dark faces that stared out from their book jackets" (34).

Phillips's latest work, *In the Falling Snow* (2009), can be regarded as another significant meditation on the migration experience of the later generation in post-war Britain. Through a series of flashbacks, he tells the story of three generations—the rebellious mixed-race young adults, the second generation and the first generation of massive migration in the 1950s. It could be seen as an extended explanation of the story of the 1950s *SS Windrush* generation and its descendants, dramatised by the inclusion of his own autobiographical narration. The protagonist Keith, who was born in England in the early 1960s to immigrant parents but raised by his white stepmother, has suffered the discrimination of his middle-class wife's parents and run away with his wife to Bristol and then to London. Nevertheless, they choose to separate after years of struggle, as both of them can no longer bear such social pressure. Their son Laurie, too, has been treated as "black" by his head teacher at school and is pejoratively linked to "black rage" or any kind of criminal actions identified by Laurie's so-called friends. It is also a story of father and son. Keith's father, from the first generation of immigrants to the UK, is diagnosed with mental illness and is institutionalised for years. He then loses the right to bring up his own son. At the very end of the novel, on his deathbed, Keith's father Earl finally tells his son the story about his past, and about his difficult years in mental hospitals. The story of Earl in *In the Falling Snow* and that of Leila in *The Final Passage* both portray the memories of immigration, struggles and of suffering that highlight the racial conflicts in post-war Britain.

As David Ellis points out, there was a considerable change from greeting the

Windrush generation with the phrase "welcome Home" to the racial conflicts across the UK in 1958 within ten years of the Windrush arrival (213). Therefore, to share a common citizenship and a right of residence with white Britons was not as easy as the British government advertised. (ibid. 213). Consequently, these new comers tried to create a space of their own, and got together as a hybrid community since most of them came from different backgrounds. They had to re-unite in the host country as the racial conflicts in the 1950s and the 1960s made it difficult for them to survive in the country that had "invited" them over after the War. Those newcomers living in Britain, as Phillips also points out, ended up at the bottom tier of Britain's deeply class-bound society—the black immigrants, no matter what their ethnic or national background was, found it "difficult to exercise any authority over one's own identity" and remained "marginal" figures ("Necessary Journey" 5). Despite this, between 1952 and 1958, twenty novels were published amongst authors such as Selvon, Lamming, John Hearne, Mittleholzer, Naipaul and Salkey, which might suggest that their publishers were confident with the market for such books, and a series of prizes and awards were given to this group of emerging writers from the West Indian islands[77] that did mark a favourable reception accorded to West Indian migrant writers in the 1950s (Dabydeen, "West Indian Writers in Britain" 69-70). However, the racial conflicts throughout the 1950s and anti-black riots in 1953 decidedly made the West Indian migrant population feel

[77] Andrew Salkey was awarded the Thomas Helmore Prize in 1955. Lamming received the Somerset Maugham Award in 1957 and so did Naipaul in 1959. Naipaul also won the John Llewellyn Rhys Memorial Prize in 1957. A year later, Sam Selvon was awarded a travelling scholarship by the Society of Authors (Dabydeen, "West Indian Writers in Britain" 69-70)

exactly the opposite (ibid. 69-70). Under such circumstances, the concept of home for black British citizens was always elsewhere, and what the Caribbean writers constructed as their own unique identities as well could be very fragile.

The unique identity of each individual from the islands has become effaced as it is subsumed by a collective imaginary Caribbean identity, not because these individuals and cultures have no identifying features or specialty, but because the whole situation has forced Caribbean migrants to transform themselves into a vague image of the Other—sometimes as insiders but more often as outsiders to British society. For the first generation of migrants, such as Selvon and Lamming, the migration experience put them in contact with people from other Caribbean islands for the very first time. Lamming's migrant ship in *The Emigrants*, for example, carries a group of passengers who are not only from Jamaica (as is the stereotype), but also from a wide range of different Caribbean islands, each with a specific history; the passengers in his novel are not only "black," but also include a number of emigrants of different cultural origins—European, Afro-Caribbean, Indo-Caribbean, Chinese, Portuguese-Guyanese, men and women (Nasta, *Home Truths* 59). However, they ultimately end up designated as a generic group as Lamming writes:

> They were a group. Those who had met and spoken belonged to the same situation. It wasn't Jamaica or Barbados or Trinidad. It was a situation that included all the islands. They were together (*The Emigrants* 78).

Similarly, in his London writings Selvon includes many different episodes featuring immigrants from various Caribbean islands and even one from Nigeria, and demonstrates that the West Indian immigrants live in a subordinated state in British society, grouped as a community experiencing the lowest standard of living. It seems impossible for them to be treated respectfully, or to be recognised as individuals. Rather, Caribbean identity is usually represented as a generic construct and everybody is thought to look the same because their skin colours are all darker than those of white people and it does not seem to matter where they came from and who they really are. Like Lamming's *Emigrants*, they have to unite as a group—not because they have no individual identity, but because they have to "imagine" themselves as a community gain a foothold within British society.

Therefore, I would suggest that it is only when the diversity and uniqueness of the Caribbean islands and immigrants can be recognised in terms other than through "othering" as a collective "black" identity that we could say there is a route towards cultural decolonisation and racial equality. It could also be seen as an act of decolonisation that the writers in this study who are from different Caribbean countries try to bring their own background into their writings, demonstrating that each Caribbean subject always has a very unique identity to convey and should not be regarded simply as a black *Other*. For example, by reading literature by West Indian writers, we can see that Derek Walcott writes extensively about the St Lucian seascape in his poems; Wilson Harris writes compellingly of the Guyanese

rainforest; Selvon brings us to the world of the peasantry of Trinidad (Dabydeen, "West Indian Writers in Britain" 62). Each of them in fact has a strong sense of identity and shows their unique multiple diasporic cultural roots/routes in their literature.

However, the concept of the Caribbean and "home" for Caryl Phillips has been modified. Though his works are now considered as providing a "New World" vision of Caribbean identity and Britishness in the age in which migrations have increasingly become a familiar part of individual lives and where national boundaries can no longer be clearly marked, it does not necessarily mean that the uniqueness of each individual should be ignored. The "assimilated" nature of black diasporic identity as a collective identity for Caribbean immigrants reflected in Phillips's literature is, I argue, constructed in terms that imply the struggles and sufferings of the racial ignorance in his English upbringing and his belief in the need to articulate and unify the black communities into one identity representing the "African worldview," whilst Selvon's strategy to depict the struggles and difficulties of immigrants subjects is to represent each individual in as much detail as possible, delineating his/her uniqueness and "detoured" hybridity in British society in the 1950s and 60s rather than reproducting a colonial discursive framework that posits a coloured "Other*"* without a distinctive identity.

Conclusion

To conclude, the diasporic voyage across the Atlantic has been long used to

emblematise the concept of black identity or Caribbean identity in Caribbean literature and theory, but Selvon rewrites the myth of the Windrush voyage by narrating the journey back to Trinidad in *Moses Migrating*. In his texts the voyage is invoked to depict how Caribbean, and specifically, Trinidadian diasporic identity has been constructed, but in a way that contradicts the dominant discourse. Ironically, such a journey "back home" is a journey which indicates the impossibility of return. The metaphor of the Carnival in *Moses Migrating*, is used to imply that the joyful atmosphere in Trinidad is just a fantasy for both the emigrants and the Western tourists. In fact, the identity of diasporic individuals is in a state of flux and therefore a return to an originary identity is impossible. Another example of this can be found in *The Housing Lark.* Selvon again suggests that the protagonist Syl, an Indo-Trinidadian immigrant in London, is actually quite different from an Indian from "the Orient" (or India), as their diasporic routes and life experiences are widely divergent. Moreover, *The Housing Lark* also explores the issue of racial ignorance in the "mother country" (Britain) and anticipates why Caribbean diasporic writers of later generations such as Caryl Phillips, who grew up in England, sees Caribbean identity as a collectivity, positing a universal form of black experience. As Lamming points out, "they were together" because white Britons perceive them as a generic group. Furthermore, Lamming points out that if they do not "imagine" themselves as a group, they have no voice. In fact, each diasporic individual has his or her own process of constructing self-identity from different diasporic experiences and cultural routes/roots. I argue that it is only if

each of them can be recognised as a unique individual that the enigma of never arriving can be solved.

Furthermore, the formerly colonised subject can seek the possibility of challenging the notion of "Englishness" only when modern British identities are no longer constituted by the white domination and racial exclusiveness that are cultural remnants of colonialism (see also Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness* 19). Postcolonial cultural diversity is a crucial ingredient in the consolidation of modern Britishness, becoming a vital component of the postcolonial British identities. Therefore, the postcolonial diasporic subject should not be excluded as the insignificant "Other" or as a marginal figure. As Gikandi argues, margins, boundaries and peripheries are actually "key ingredients in the making of the implosive centre itself" (*Maps of Englishness* 37). Therefore, modern British identities cannot be defined without being placed in relation to the specific cultural identities of the postcolonial diasporic individuals, and vice versa (See also Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness* 209).

The following chapter will echo the elements discussed in this chapter regarding how Selvon portrays the identity of postcolonial diasporic individuals, establishing a parallel with Weng's exploration of the physical/metaphorical diasporic routes and passages. Further, the next chapter will also explore the complexity of racial relations between the non-white coloniser and the non-black colonised and seek an alternative mode of analysis that moves beyond a binaristic configurations of skin colour and race that inflect European colonial discourse.

Chapter II:

Crossing the Mountain, Crossing the Sea—

Weng Nao's Diasporic Literary Metaphors

Weng Nao and his works

Weng Nao (1910-1940),[78] born as the fourth child in the Chen family in T'ai-chung Ting,[79] was later adopted by the middle-class Weng family in Chang-hua and given the name Weng Nao when he was six. In 1923, he attended Taichung Normal School (now National Taichung University of Education),[80] where he began his literary life and met other writers of his time, such as Wu T'ian-shang,[81] Yang I-chou[82] and Wu K'un-huang.[83] In 1934, after finishing his compulsory service at the public school, Weng Nao left for Tokyo and it was during this period that Weng first published his works and his literary achievement reached a peak. Like many other Taiwanese writers,[84] Weng set off for the Japanese colonial metropolis, Tokyo, to pursue a literary career. Most of Weng's works were published while he was in Tokyo,

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[78] The most recent research, from 2009, indicates that Weng Nao was born in 1910, but earlier research (*Taiwanese Writers Series* published in 1991) states that Weng Nao was born in 1908.

[79] One of the administrative areas during Japanese colonial rule, located in central Taiwan.

[80] During Japanese colonial rule, Taiwanese students with good academic abilities were only allowed to study at normal school (equal to primary school or secondary school in the UK system today), and medical schools. Therefore, as Wu points out, to be a teacher or a doctor was the main way for Taiwanese to upgrade their social status as other subjects in higher education were restricted in order to prevent Taiwanese students from engaging in any anti-colonial political activities ("Taiwan's Education and the Forming of the Elite during the Japanese Colonial Rule" 373).

[81] Known as 吳天賞 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.

[82] Known as 楊逸舟 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.

[83] Known as 吳坤煌 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.

[84] Including Wang Pai-yuan (王白淵), Yang K'uei (楊逵), Chang Wen-huan (張文環), Wu K'un-huang (吳坤煌), Wu Yung-fu (巫永福), Wang Ch'ang-hsiung (王昶雄), and Yang I-chou (楊逸舟), to name but a few.

including the poems "An Ode to the Birds" (1935), "In A Foreign Land" (1935) "A Poet's Lover" (1935), the essay "The Border of Kōenji—Tokyo Suburban Streets for the *Flâneur*" (1935), the short stories "Remaining Snow" (1935), "Musical Clock" (1935), "A Love Story before Dawn" (1937), "Poor A-Jui" (1936) and the novella *Streets with a Port* (1939).

Influenced by his upbringing, Weng's writing is inflected by his deep concerns about social injustice in colonial Taiwan. He also adapted the latest literary techniques from the Japanese modernist school in the early twentieth century, also known as Neosensualism.[85] In particular, Weng's writings centre on the theme of exploring the inner workings of the diasporic mentality as well as the interactions of diasporans with the outside world. His novels not only follow the sensitive Japanese modernist writing style but also draw upon early twentieth-century Western psychoanalysis and symbolism, which distinguishes him from other Taiwanese literary authors from the 1930s onwards (Chang, "A Phantom" 13).

His early works "An Ode to the Bird," "In a Foreign Land" and "A Poet's Lover," written right after his arrival in Tokyo, mainly focus on his migration route and the process of transformation from a public school teacher to a metropolitan writer in Tokyo. The transformation process, as discussed in Chapter 1, can be seen as a significant element in constructing the identity of the diasporic subject. Here, in this chapter, I will examine how Weng Nao writes about his transformative voyage through the metaphors of the routes of the migrant bird and the passage across the

[85] There will be more detailed discussion in Chapter 4.

sea and discuss the specific cultural routes/roots of Taiwanese diasporas. Next, I will further explore how Weng deals with the image of the ship and the port—the contact zone between the sea and the imperial motherland—in his novella *Streets with a Port* (1939), and why such contact space is significant for diasporic writing. Furthermore, I will discuss the context of Japanophone Taiwanese literature in the post-war years, exploring why literary works from this fruitful period have been overlooked, and why writing postcolonial Taiwanese identity has been interpreted as a fatal act of betrayal.

Migrant bird as metaphor: "In a Foreign Land" and "An Ode to the Bird"

Like the fellow writers of his generation, Weng Nao journeyed to Tokyo in 1934 in the hope of pursuing a literary career. Among Weng's diasporic writings, "In a Foreign Land" is his first poem which he composed during the first few months following his arrival in a bleak part of suburban Tokyo. Infused with the poet's sense of loneliness and his consciousness of a "spirit of place," the poem uses the eagle as a metaphor to reflect Weng's own ambition to fly across the mountains of his homeland and across the sea in order to stand on a high cliff and have a bird's eye view of the world. Like an eagle, elegantly standing on the edge of the cliff with a distant and alienated gaze, the image suggests that the poet's ambition is to become a successful writer in Japan. Though suffering from loneliness, the poet can still hear the migrant bird calling his name and it reflects the poet's hope that there will be someone like the bird who understands why he is here.

"In a Foreign Land" successfully conveys a sense of location within the poet's spatial imaging of his identity. In order to depart from Keelung port, (located in north-eastern Taiwan) for Kobe port (Japan), emigrants like Weng had to first cross the Central Mountain Range[86] from his hometown Chang-hua, located in the western part of Taiwan, before seting off to Japan. The geographical narrative can be clearly seen in the poem. It begins:

出往きて　谷に狂ひぬ
海越えて　淵に臨みぬ
かそけき聲　わが名を呼べり
それ心に巣くふ　大き鷹
Out of the valley,
Across the sea,
Standing by the cliff,
I heard a faint murmur of voices calling my name
From the bottom of my heart.
That is the giant eagle nested in my mind.
("In A Foreign Land" 9) [my translation]

Due to the rough terrain of the island and the danger of crossing the sea, the first stanza signals that the out-migration voyage to Japan is never an easy journey. The specific island landscape of Taiwan illustrated in the poem also connotes diasporic experiences and a sense of marginality that prompts the islanders' desire to sail out to the sea, which is interpreted as a liberated space of possibility. The symbolic scene of the eagle crossing the mountain and the sea also shows the poet's state of

[86] The range runs from the north to the south of Taiwan island.

consciousness—ambitious, proud but lonely. The eagle, as Taiwanese scholar Hsiao Hsiao[87] observes, reflects the rootlessness and non-belonging which shapes the poet's state of mind, and the species envisaged here is very likely to be the Grey-faced Buzzard Eagle (*Butastur indicus*), which is a species of migrant bird that flies to southern Taiwan every spring and autumn (296). This particular stanza also traces the specific flight route of the Grey-faced Buzzard Eagle, which is from China, to the southern islands in East Asia, signifying the migrant routes of Taiwanese ancestors from China over hundreds of years ago and setting off on a secondary voyage to Japan.

The metaphor of the migrant bird in this poem, I argue, signifies at least two meanings. Firstly, it implies that the Taiwanese diasporans will return to their original birthplace at the same time every year just as the migrant bird returns to where it is from and travels in between locations. Weng's early Tokyo-based work demonstrates that his cultural bond with Taiwan is still quite strong, but in his last work *Streets with a Port* this sense of affiliation appears to be waning. In *Streets with a Port,* he focuses more on spaces like the port as contact zones in order to examine the state of doubleness and hybridity of living in between, rather than portraying his homesickness like he does in "An Ode to the Bird." Similarly, many species of migrant birds in Taiwan have become resident birds that never return to their original birthplace. Therefore, the use of migrant bird as metaphor could also suggest that although many Taiwanese are originally from China, their descendants have never

[87] Known as 蕭蕭 in Taiwan, whose real name is Hsiao Shui-shun (蕭水順). Both are rendered according to the Wade-Giles system.

been able/willing to return to their ancestral homeland, and continue to set off on other diasporic journeys.

The poem traces the mixed and complicated feelings associated with the diasporic condition, which has always been considered negative in Taiwanese culture and is usually linked with political punishment or economic struggles as it has always involved journeys from the centre to the periphery. The idea of diasporas which are rooted in the culture have traditionally carried traumatic and negative associations, but the years of Japanese colonisation brought about a significant change. Since the half-century of Japanese colonial rule, the notion of emigration has become viewed as an "upgrading" process from a state of "barbarianism" to "civilisation" and travelling across the sea to the centre of the Empire has thus been considered as a privilege. Therefore, in the poem the speaker's voice conveys a sense of excitement about landing in his dream city, Tokyo; but on the other hand, in accordance with Taiwanese literary aesthetic traditions, the poem is also full of sentimental feelings of nostalgia about sailing away from the homeland. In the second and third stanza, he writes:

故郷を　有たぬものは
禍なりとや　ニイチエは語りしか
荊棘みつ　荒野を轉ぶ
身とはなりにけるかな

寂しさは　光なき茅屋に
訣れを告げし　春のくれ

悲しさは　空の彼方に
見えずなりぬ　故山の姿

Nietzsche once said,
Homelessness is a misery.
I have stumbled
In a deserted thornfield.

Loneliness
In a dim bungalow
Waving farewell to the late spring.
Sadness
In the space where
The mountains of homeland
Have already been far beyond my sight.
(Weng, "In A Foreign Land" 9-10) [my translation]

Here, Weng cites German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche's statement that "homelessness is a misery" to reflect his displacement in suburban Tokyo—though Weng's diasporic experience and Nietzsche's were very different in character: Weng was heading to an imperial capital whilst Nietzsche was searching for a suitable place to treat his mental illness. In the poem, the speaker suggests that his situation is like being trapped in a thorn-field—he can neither head forward nor return back to his homeland (Taiwan). There is no way back and all he can do is to wave farewell to his homeland from a dim bungalow room (in Japan) since he has chosen to stay in Tokyo, a destination that he appears fated to be in.

The next stanza offers the poet's explanation of his reasons for going to Tokyo,

and he begs for his parents' forgiveness on the grounds that it is, after all, a destiny for young intellectuals from colonial Taiwan to migrate to the imperial centre:

> あはずなりて
>
> 早や一年(ひとゝせ)をめぐりけり
>
> 父母よ　な恨みそ
> 吾は鬼の子　あらず　時代の子
> Having been separated from each other more than a year
> My beloved parents
> Please do not resent me.
> I am not a son of devil,
> but a son of the times.
> (ibid. 10) [my translation]

In this stanza the poet suggests that his parents may feel this departure has made him into a "devilish son," but in fact he is a "son of the times"—through the journey of translocation, the poet is aware of his transformation, which has now rendered him an alien to his native parents. He begs for forgiveness as he feels he is no longer his old self, but a product of colonialism. And such a transformation is an ongoing, continuous condition that never reverses. Through the physical voyage, the emigrants sail away from their homeland to the colonial motherland to achieve a form of self-improvement by equipping themselves for the approval of the imperial motherland. Nevertheless, they might end up as only the objects of History, and never its masters. The emigrants, like the poet himself, are preparing themselves for acceptance and prosperity, but the reality in imperial Japanese society is, as the last

stanza suggests, “nothing more than despair”:

言ふなかれ　希望ありと
そは徒なる言葉
あはれ　君
吾にあるは　たゞ絕望のみぞ
Please don’t tell me
There is hope.
That is nonsense.
My dear,
What belongs to me—
Nothing more than despair.
(“In A Foreign Land” 10-11) [my translation]

Weng’s other poem “An Ode to the Bird” also conveys complex emotions associated with the diasporic condition. He writes:

鳥ハ
黎明ト暗黑トノ境ニ啼ク
チチ　チチ　チチチ
闇ヲ出タノガ
悲シイノカ
光ガ來タノガ
嬉シイノカ
チチ　チチ　チチチ
空カラ谷ヘ
谷カラ野ヘ
コノ世ニ
鳥ノ憩ヘル處ハナイ
晝ハ明ルスギ

夜ハ暗スギル
曉ノ
ホンノヒトゝキ
ホ前ハ幸福デアル
人間ニハ
最モ不幸ナトキナノダガ
チチ　チチ　チチチ
鳥ヨ
オ前ノフルサトハ
山カ
海カ
四角ノ窓ガ白ムトキ
山ノ氣ト
海ノ香ガ
チチ　チチ　チチチ
オ前ノ歌ト共ニ
ヤツテクル
純粋ニ生キル
オ前ノ哀シサヲオモツテ
鳥ヨ
世界ガソノ喧騒ノ
すたあとヲ切ル前ニ
チチ　チチ　チチチ
俺ハオ前ヲツレテ
アノ天ニ登リ
オ前ヲ弥ニシテ
ヤリタイ
A little bird
Singing at the edge between the darkness and the dawn.
Chichi chichi chichichi.
Are you crying
Because you have flown out of the darkness?
Or, are you full of joy because daytime is coming?

Chichi chichi chichichi.
From the sky to the valley,
From the valley to the field,
There seems to be no place for you to rest.
The daylight is too bright;
The night is too dark.
Only in the moment of twilight,
On that brink of time,
You could feel happiness.
For human beings,
It is the most unfortunate moment.
Chichi chichi chichichi.
Little bird,
Where is your home?
Are you from the mountain?
Or from the sea?
When square window panes whiten,
The spirits of mountains and
The scents of the sea
Chichi chichi chichichi
Along with your songs
In order to see your sadness and
Your insistence on becoming an artist.
Little bird,
Before the vibrant day is going to start,
Chichi chichi chichichi
I will take you up to the sky
To be my echo.
(Weng, "An Ode to the Bird" 21-23) [my translation]

Here, again the poet recounts the homesickness characteristic of the diasporic condition by using migrant birds as a metaphor. In "In the Foreign Land," the eagle

is also used to imply the poet's ambition, but in this poem, the bird reflects the dark side of the poet's mind, which is interpreted/translated as feminine "you" (妳) in *Weng Nao's Literary Corpus* (1997) edited by Ch'en Tsao-hsiang[88] and Hsü Chün-ya.[89] In so doing, the bird as a feminine "you" can, on the one hand, present the intimacy between the poet and the bird, and on the other hand, invalidates the idea of the female as the "Other" who haunts the male speaker. When the speaker asks the bird "Are you crying because you have flown out of the darkness? Or, are you full of joy because daytime is coming?" (ibid. 21), this appears to represent a voice in the poet's mind that wonders why he feels sad if this process is supposed to be pleasurable. In the poem, darkness is used as a metaphor for the homeland of Taiwan, and the daylight could be interpreted as referring to imperial Japan. When the bird keeps singing "chi chi, chi chi, chi chi chi" on the edge of darkness and the dawn, it reflects the poet's state of mind, and the edge signifies the in-between space of the diasporic condition. In such a space, the poet is excited to welcome his new life in Japan, but at the same time is afraid of waving farewell to his birthplace, Taiwan. Living in such an in-between space and time might be an unfortunate condition for human beings, but in this poem the speaker tries to convince himself and his readers that it is a privileged opportunity.

The speaker continues to ask the bird where she is from: "Are you from the mountain? Or from the sea?" (ibid. 22). The mountain and the sea are both two main

[88] Known as 陳藻香 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the WG system.
[89] Known as 許俊雅 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the WG system.

geographical features of the island of Taiwan. The spirits of the mountains and the sea (the spirit of the homeland) come along with the song of the bird, and accompany the poet in his desire to see the world and to pursue his artistic literary ambitions in the imperial motherland, something which he could never have achieved in Taiwan. By crossing the mountains and the sea, the poet signals that the vibrant new day is going to begin and the bird's song, which sings the tune of the diasporic subject, echoes the fresh start of his literary career in Tokyo.

To have a better understanding of diasporic voyage undertaken by Weng, another Taiwanese writer Wu Zhuoliu's prominent work *Orphan of Asia*[90] (1956, Eng trans 2006) can be read alongside Weng's poems as it further illustrates the dilemma of Taiwanese diasporic/return journeys to both Japan and China. In the novel, the protagonist Taiming, like many Taiwanese intellectuals at the time, has always dreamt of going to Japan. A friend of his who returns from Japan tells him that the Taiwanese were discriminated against in Japan—"Taiwanese are made fun of" (Wu, *Orphan of Asia* 45). However, this does not make Taiming change his mind as he finds it necessary to see for himself. It is his Japanese colleague Hisako's rejection of his love that provides him with the opportunity to quit his job and to see *the world*,[91] and this is how his journeys begin.

Published a decade after Weng's "In a Foreign Land," *Orphan of Asia* further tackles the multiple journeys of Taiwanese diasporans travelling between three different locations during war times and the post-war years. It is composed of

[90] Known as『アジアの孤児』in its original Japanese title.
[91] Here "the world" could possibly mean Japan only.

episodes which portray multiple journeys—back and forth between Japan, China and Taiwan. Unlike the massive Caribbean migration to Britain, the main motivation of the Taiwanese migration to Japan was for educational opportunities. However, as Pian's and Wu's research suggests, studying in Japan was for Taiwanese actually a privilege, as only very few young Taiwanese whose families were able to afford such huge expense could take this opportunity; most Taiwanese peasants at the time hardly had any opportunities to travel beyond the island of Taiwan (Pien 81; Wu 386). They could, however, imagine their own identity within the island through the experience of Japanese colonial education. Although it is crucial to re-thinking and re-constructing Taiwanese identity, notions of travelling between locations, and changing their own identities in the process were, in fact, only the privilege of a few middle-class intellectuals. As Opium Tong states in the novel, "Not one man has studied there (Japan) in the entire history of our village [...] It is not an easy business, this studying overseas" (Wu, *Orphan of Asia* 64). He therefore lists four conditions necessary to permit overseas study for the Taiwanese subject:

> First, a wise son must be born.
> Second, and this is no less important, the son must also be decisive.
> Third, his father must be a man of property.
> Fourth, the father must be well educated as well. Money is not enough. (ibid. 64)

However, such a "privilege" usually turns into a traumatic experience of

displacement. Standing between two camps and in such an ambiguous situation, Wu always shows his resistance as a Taiwanese subject who is caught between two cultural contexts (Japan and China) in his novels.[92] Living in Tokyo, the diasporic Taiwanese subject inhabits a space with no clear boundaries, a space of simultaneous belonging and non-belonging. In the novel, Taiming's friend Lan plays an important role for he is a character who lives under the tension of choosing and changing identities constantly. The character Lan in the novel thus continuously changes his identity in order to be more "socially compatible" with other members of each group, a condition which reflects the fact that there is little space for Taiwanese to survive in Japan. He chooses to eliminate his true identity in order to earn the recognition of both Japanese and Chinese citizens. In a Japanese bar, where Lan is a frequent customer, the waitress asks where Taiming is from and Lan does not wait for him to answer. Instead he replies immediately, "Same as me. He's from Fukuoka" (ibid. 56). On the other hand, when Lan attends a meeting of the Chinese Student Association, he pretends he is from Kuangtung or Fuchien.[93] Wu also depicts a similar dilemma in his novel in the episode when Taiming attends a welcome reception held by the "Chinese" Student Association when he first arrives in Tokyo. Taiming has long believed himself to be a "Chinese" since this is what his grandfather and private Chinese school teacher Peng have taught him and later the Japanese colonial power

[92] These include *Orphan of Asia* (アジアの孤児;1946), *Fig* (無花果; 1968) and *Golden Dewdrop* (台湾連翹; 1995). The last work was published ten years after Wu's death by Chung Chao-cheng (鍾肇政).

[93] Kuangtung or Fuchien are two south-eastern provinces of China, where most Taiwanese ancestors were from.

also made him believe it, but when he meets the "real" Chinese students from the mainland, he suddenly realises that Taiwanese are not recognised as "proper" Chinese. Rather, they are regarded as "Japanese spies" under the Chinese mainland gaze. Accordingly, his friend Lan warns him not to reveal his identity as a Taiwanese student. Before the party, Taiming cannot understand why he should not reveal his real identity but he soon realises what is at stake when he is looked upon with disgust by the Chinese students at the party after revealing his Taiwanese identity. The following passage illustrates that Taiming decides to be honest in order to show sincerity to his new Chinese friend Chen, with disastrous results:

> So sincere and unreserved was his manner that it rubbed off on Taiming. "Actually, I'm from Taiwan. My name is Hu Taiming and" (Chen's face changed color) "I guess I'm here to study physics."
> With a different kind of frankness, Chen spat out, "Huh? Taiwan?" He sneered in disgust and, with obvious contempt, quickly strode away.
> The news rippled forth—murmurs of "He's Taiwanese" and "He might be a spy." A heavy silence fell on the lecture hall, which was more than Taiming could bear. He stood up and silently sneaked out. Filled with hurt and anger, he stomped homeward. The streets were almost empty (ibid. 62).

Wu creates the character Lan to suggest that most Taiwanese would choose to behave as he does in such a situation. However, in Wu's fictional world, he resists

making his characters (including Taiwanese, Japanese and Chinese) conform to stereotypes about putatively resentful colonised, aggressive racists or violent colonialists. Wu's characters can, on the contrary, be read as merely "people" of the time—people who have inner struggles and their own judgments regarding racial issues. The character Lan is used to represent how some Taiwanese subjects feel more comfortable if they hide their true identity, but Taiming, like the author himself, holds an opposite viewpoint. Wu thus portrays a scene of Taiming's short stay in a Japanese boarding house in Tokyo—an experience which is almost a fantasy and is contradictory to the other episodes in the novel. The Japanese mistress of the boarding house knows Taiming's true identity but still encourages him to take a walk with her daughter Tsuruko, and he refuses to do so because he does not want to be distracted from his studying. Unlike the episode when Lan pretends to be a Japanese man from Fukuoka in the Tokyo bar, Taiming is finally regarded as equal to the Japanese and he is respected even when he reveals his true identity. Despite their opposing attitudes, Lan and Taiming still have one thing in common—they are both eager to be recognised as an independent individual—as a man, and not the colonised Other.

The voyage and the sea

As it is deeply engaged with its history of migration and the formation of diasporas, Taiwanese literature has always generated complex cultural dialogues. The history of colonial Taiwan, which was shaped by the relationship between the seascape and the

marine power which emerged in the late nineteenth century, is vital to any discussion about literary inscriptions of the sea and the migrant voyage. As I discuss in the previous chapter, postcolonial Caribbean writers such as Derek Walcott and Édouard Glissant develop a "language of landscape" in their works as they feel that this is an essential part of the process of constructing postcolonial (diasporic) identities and of advancing decolonisation agendas (Walcott 24; See also DeLoughrey 268). Similarly, the sea provides fluid natural metaphors to connect different regions and locations in the work of Taiwanese diasporic writers. The two of Weng's poems mentioned above are inspired by the migrant birds and their flight across the mountains and the sea, which reflect the author's migrant voyage and the crossings from the night (barbarian/rural Taiwan) to the daylight (civilisation/imperial metropolis), which is both a sorrowful event (leaving home) and an exciting experience (heading to a dream destination). In the poem "An Ode to the Bird," Weng clearly shows his desires and intricate emotions, which are intertwined with the hope of seeing the world and embracing a sense of freedom. The image of the sea plays a significant role in Weng's writings about the "crossing." Similarly to the French language—in which the sea can be connected to motherhood, as *la mer* ("the sea") is phonetically the same as *la mère* ("mother")—in the Japanese and Chinese languages, the character 海 ("the sea") [hai] can be divided into 水 ("water") [shui], 人 ("human") [jen] and 母 ("mother") [mu]. This image is especially important for the island of Taiwan as it is surrounded by the sea. The movement of crossing the sea is similar to that of the child leaving the womb of his/her mother—it is a dark voyage

and when the newborn sees the light, it is the moment for a new life to be (re-)born. Weng's poems, according to Taiwanese scholar Xiang Yang, are difficult to interpret. His widespread use of symbols and double meanings in composing his poems make them difficult to be fully understood. In order to further understand Weng's poems, this section continues to explore the concept of the voyage and the sea in the Taiwanese cultural context and the ways in which Weng adapts them into his poems. Another of Weng's poems "A Poet's Lover," continues to deal with this concept of the process of (re-)birth. He writes:

彼女は彼の生れるまへに死んだ

そして
彼が死んでから生れた
Cosmopolitan

太陽の凍つた死寂の夜、水を抱い

て彼は遁走した。そこは謝肉祭(カーニヴアル)の市

山車(だし)、松明、息のない舞蹈、海の底

の光の動搖めき……凄まじい風は
彼を木の葉のやうに吹き捲くる、彼
だけを
世界が死んで、彼は岩角に坐してさ
し招く。天の一角が垂下る。彼は道
々つかんできた光をそれへぶち撒い
た
世界が蘇つて、人々は驚駭する。け

れども星の由來を知つてゐるものは
彼だけである

She died before he was born.

And then[94]
He was given a life from the death.
Cosmopolitan.

In the deadly silent night when the sun was frozen,
He embraced the cold, fled to a place where
There were carnival floats, torches, breathless dance and the waves reflecting lights from the bottom of the sea.
Piercing wind blew him like a leaf. Only blew him.

The world was dead. He sat on the rock, hailing.
The sky has lowered its curtain from the corner.
He threw all the light which he collected on the way.

The world has woken up.
People were filled with awe.
But he was the only one who knew where the stars were from.
(Weng, "A Poet's Lover" 16-17) [My translation]

Here, the death of the poet's "lover" gives birth to the poet, as in the beginning of the poem, Weng writes: "She died before he was born. And then, he was given a life from the death. Cosmopolitan" (ibid. 16). The word "cosmopolitan" in many translated versions is interpreted as "homelessness" and "street wanderer," rather

[94] Shang translates it as "while," but the original text "そして" is a conjunction word of connecting two clauses that happens accordingly rather than contradictory to one another.

than drawing on its original meaning of "relating to a metropolis."[95] However, when translating, it can be quite difficult to convey all the possible meanings for each word, without then changing the overall impression of the original works. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to read Weng's poems because the double or multiple meanings behind the words can be lost during the process of translation (See also Xiang 274). For example, if we follow in the vein of the discussion above, Weng's poems, in many respects, explore the concept of birth/rebirth. However, it could be quite difficult to identify the multiple meanings in the original text if one read only one version of the translated texts.[96] Here, the (re)birth of the poet occurs due to his separation from a matrix—an ambiguous female, which could be either his mother or his lover. The poet is thus born into what he calls "cosmopolitan" life in the poem, a life of hybridity in Tokyo city. These three poems, written shortly after Weng's arrival in Tokyo, not only reflect his diasporic route and transformation into a writer, but also initiated him into the Japanese literary scene.

On *Streets with a Port*

After living in Tokyo for five years, Weng wrote the novella *Streets with a Port* (1939). It was his last work written in Japan and also the very last one that he produced during his short life. Weng embarked on his journey to Tokyo in 1934 with the aspiration to become a writer, but after living there for five years, he is believed

[95] According to the Oxford online dictionary.
[96] The poem has been translated by Yüeh Chung-ch' üan (月中泉), Ch'en Tsao-hsiang and Xiang Yang respectively.

to have died of poverty on the Tokyo streets (Chang, “On Weng Nao” 155-6). In the preface to the novella, Weng indicates that the setting, Kobe city, is the place he wanted to write about when he first arrived in Japan. For most immigrants, the international port city of Kobe is not just the first stop for most international ships, but it is also a symbolic site where the dreams of immigrants repose—a border which straddles the past and the future, and functions as a gateway to a new home. It is significant therefore that after years of living in Tokyo, Weng, at the peak of his life, should choose to set his last work in Kobe Port, which was the first stop in his arrival in Japan and where he started his writing career. In the beginning of the novella, he writes the following section of pose-poetry:

> 陸と海の相擁するところ、
> あらゆる旅人のエスカール、
> そこには自からなる別箇の生活様態があるであらう。
> 朝霧を衝いて揺曳する汽笛を耳にするとき、
> 夜霧の中に幻の泛ごとく泛ぶ檣を目にするとき、
> 人は明日の夢を描くであらうか、
> はた悔恨に心を亂さるゝであらうか。
> […]
> かつてそこに遊び、
> そこの埠頭にｲんだ私は、
> その港のために何か書きたいと思ひ…
> All kinds of travellers meet in the place where the land embraces the sea. So with different lifestyles there,
> it distinguishes itself from other places.
> When hearing a steam whistle
> vibrating in the morning fog,

> When gazing at the blurred image of masts in the night mist,
> What's in their mind—
> Are they drawing blueprints for their future dreams?
> Or, perhaps, bothered by regrets?
> […] Once travelling there, standing at the quay,
> I started to think about what I can write about this port…
> (Weng, *Streets with A Port* 93) [My translation]

The novella starts with a lyrical description of an in-between landscape where the sea meets the land. As a poet and short story writer, Weng mixes his prose with other genres of literature such as poetry and music in *Streets with a Port*, creating a unique style of writing. Later in the work, there is also an extract from a jazz piece by a band from the Philippines—a song about diasporic conditions in Palestine, London and Peru (ibid. 188). Weng's writings reflect his personal experience of living in-between Western culture, an imposed Japanese colonial culture, as well as his native Taiwanese cultures, in that the port also stands in an in-between space, which is the main theme he explores in the novella.

As an in-between space, the port is a location which is distinct from other places. Weng uses the ship as a symbol of diasporic movement since its function as a mode of transport from the old home to the new country suggests the unsteady and compound character of the diverse cultures and identities of diasporic communities. The port, in a way, is similar to the concept that Avtar Brah calls "diaspora space," which is an intersection of borders in which all subjects and identities become "juxtaposed" and "contested" (208). Yet, here the author depicts the port as an

ambiguous space that is not necessarily just a site of arrival, but that can also be the site of a temporary stay or of a departure. For the foreign sailors, for instance, this is the site of a short break and reception, and one that they never take seriously as a permanent home as they will set off on another journey very shortly. However, for Weng himself, it signifies the first-ever contact with the imperial Mother Country, but ironically also marks the end of his writing career as the novella is produced right before his death in Japan.

Streets with a Port begins with the arrival of the steam ship *Iling Maru* at Kobe port, where the female protagonist Taniko is caught by a policeman. Taniko, who grows up as an orphan and works for Chinese smugglers and the drug dealer T'ung-ch'ang, has tried all kinds of work such as smuggling jewellery and drugs, prostitution and working in bars. Travelling between the north-east coast of China, Hong Kong and Kobe, Taniko lives a life of homelessness. This text, unlike Weng's other works that mainly focus on Taiwanese characters, involves stories of people with different nationalities, including Chinese and Japanese, as well as sailors from different cultural backgrounds, such as Indian, Indonesian, English, Mexican and American, in addition to a Russian circus group, and even a musician from the Philippines. In this work, Weng creates a space of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, and offers a sense of dissonance when the characters meet one another—the East meets the West, the modern meets the traditional. This fiction, composed of stories about prostitutes, criminals, orphans, homeless children, escaped foreigners and artists, shows the ambition of the author to speak for those

who struggle to survive in such a space. The narrative unfolds in the third-person tone, which distances the narrator from the events related in the tale. Readers can, therefore, re-imagine the multiple directions of voyages and redraw the site of the port, rather than presume that it is limited to a site of arrival for people from colonial Taiwan. Although the characters meet in the same space in the story, each of their identities is completely different as the routes and the purposes of their journeys are mapped differently.

In this context it is worth noting that the concept of femininity in this novella is strongly linked to the idea of the native, motherland, the sea and motherhood, but female characters remain stuck in their prescribed positions. Taniko, for example, is forced to work for T'ung-ch'ang, and her friend Asako cannot escape from the control of Yamakawa, the Japanese entrepreneur. For working-class women, their bodies are commodified and objectified, placing restrictions upon women's bodies in such highly (male) fluid space. In the novel Weng portrays women strictly in affiliation to men and they are not allowed to move freely. They must first have the approval of male characters such as the Japanese entrepreneur Yamakawa and the Chinese drug dealer T'ung-ch'ang before they can make any decisions. Although the Chinese smuggler and drug dealer T'ung-ch'ang is also a migrant who is supposed to be in the lower class of Japanese society, he still takes advantage of his masculine position to further oppress those (the female characters such as Taniko) who are in an even lower position than him. His behaviour towards Taniko and homeless young adults of the lower class is no better than that of Yamakawa, the Japanese

entrepreneur, who exploits the general public to make profit. In the story, each of Taniko's movements are not made out of her free will but are dictated firstly by her father, next by her adopted grandfather, then by the (male) owner of the orphanage, and finally by her boss, T'ung-ch'ang the smuggler. By the end of the story, although Taniko finally escapes from T'ung-ch'ang and makes her first-ever free voyage to Hong Kong, she loses everything she has ever had.

Weng's earlier works such as "Remaining Snow," "A Love Story before Dawn" and "Poor A-Jui", also suggest the immobility of women, especially colonised women, and these texts narrates the lives of those who are double-oppressed under the patriarchal colonialist system. As I discuss earlier in this chapter, it is a privilege to set off to Tokyo to either study or pursue a literary career, since not every man in colonial Taiwan was allowed or could afford to do so, let alone women. Although he does not explicitly point out restrictions on women's free will and freedom of movement in his text, Weng was one of the limited Taiwanese authors at the time to make female characters the major characters of a literary work (*Streets with a Port* and "Poor A-Jui"). It was a significant progress for the male authors at the time[97] to be aware of the issue of gender inequality and the different opportunities for colonised women in the early twentieth century. For example in *Streets with a Port* the comparison between identities of diasporic male individuals of multiple diasporic routes and of the immobilised female characters, both of whom

[97] There were no Taiwanese female writers known at the time.

are mothers (the orphan girl Chinako's[98] birthmother and her foster mother), creates a contradiction which is also significant. This echoes the concept of the sea as it appears in Weng's poem "A Poet's Lover," discussed earlier in this chapter—the sea represents the voyage, the matrix and the mother that imparts "identity" to the diasporic male individuals. However, the colonised women, as suggested in the novella, are usually treated as the property of their family or of men,[99] and they have no right to pursue their own ambitions or even to choose to live in the ways they want.

Post-war interpretation of the ambivalent Taiwanese identity

As I have suggested, among Japanophone Taiwanese writers, Weng Nao is a unique author whose work illustrates the complicated emotions of the diasporic subject and tackles issues of gender inequality and the lack of mobility for colonised women in his literature. Weng moved to the very centre of the Japanese Empire in order to have his voice heard and to prove that he was as good as a Japanese writer in the literary capital of the colonial motherland. Furthermore, he chose to write specifically about Taiwanese cultural identity in the Japanese language. Unfortunately, he did not live long enough to have his works appreciated by the general public of Japanese readers; as noted earlier he died after just five years in Tokyo. His fellow Taiwanese writers

[98] The name Chinako is actually not a common name in Japanese. The kanji of Chinako is written as 支那子, which literally means the child of China. This character, as an orphan, can be seen as a personification of and a metaphor for Taiwan's status under Japanese rule.

[99] In Taiwanese society, until the 1970s it was common to sell young girls to other families to work as servants and to be their daughters-in-law if any of their sons liked the girls once they became teenagers. Some families treated the girls as their own family members, whilst many families treated them as slaves or resold them into prostitution (Tseng 1998).

who wrote about the diasporic condition, such as Wang Ch'ang-hsiung, Chou Chin-p'o[100] and Lü He-jo[101] took time to be appreciated in the Japanese literary field. Called "*Kōmin* writers," they finally earned themselves a space, though limited, in the Japanese literary field, for they brought new voices to the colonial metropolis years after Weng's death.

Among the so-called "*Kōmin* literature,"[102] *A Torrent* (1943) by Wang Ch'ang-hsiung, for example, argues that Taiwanese people are not recognised as equals as Japanese but merely as the colonised Other. In order for the novel's protagonist to prove himself to be equal to a Japanese citizen, he has to win the *Kento*[103] competition in mainland Japan. Japanese colonial practice, such as the assimilation policy (*dōka*) and Japanisation (*kōminka*) movement on the island, was designed to make colonial rule easier on the island given the long history of migration from southern China. However, as reflected in both *A Torrent* and another famous work, *Orphan of Asia* by Wu Zhuoliu (discussed earlier in this chapter), Taiwanese people were still treated unequally on either side of the island and in mainland Japan, even though Japanese people could hardly tell the difference between colonial Taiwanese and Japanese themselves just from their appearance. In

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[100] Known as 周金波 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.

[101] Known as 呂赫若 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the Wade-Giles system.

[102] According to Ide Isamu's *War-time Japanese Writers and Kōmin Literature in Taiwan*, *Kōmin* literature refers to the literary works produced by those authors who considered themselves to be Japanese writers and followed *Kōminika* (assimilation) policy in Taiwan (171-8). Therefore, under this definition, Japanese writers in Taiwan were by no means *Kōmin* writers, but not all Taiwanese writers can be categorised as *Kōmin* writers (Ide 171-8). However, Liu argues that *Kōmin* literature was not a natural product of literary development, but a man-made outcome of colonialism; therefore as Liu argues Japanophone Taiwanese writers should be categorised as *Kōmin* writers instead of Japanese writers in Taiwan because they were already Japanese writers and did not have to consider themselves to be Japanese writers (215-6).

[103] Written as 剣道 in Japanese kanji. It is a Japanese martial art using bamboo swords.

the novel Wu implies such inequality by portraying Lan's strategy to survive in mainland Japan by pretending that he is a Japanese man from Fukuoka, as his Taiwanese accent is similar to the accent of Fukuoka; therefore, Lan can be treated and respected like a Japanese man.

Regarding the colonisation of Taiwan, Taiwanese-American historian Leo Ching points out that the assimilation policy was adopted in order to have better control of the islanders (*Becoming Japanese 83*). Ching expresses a similar argument in the essay "Give Me Japan":

> If assimilation (*dōka*) has historically been the political project of the intellectual class, the newly implemented *kōminika*, in conjunction with the total mobilization of the colony, aims at a populist affirmation. There is to be no calculation, no contemplation or investigation into "becoming Japanese" (or, more precisely, becoming an imperial subject). It is not a question of identity but a matter of fate. It is not a process of becoming but a state of being (774).

The policy therefore, as Ching suggests, marked a major transition and explained why (Sino-)Taiwanese have established an entangled complex relationship with their ancestral roots (in China) and an in-between identity since Japanese colonisation (*Becoming Japanese* 71-2). However, the colonial authorities never intended to transform Taiwanese citizens into "real" Japanese citizens as was claimed within the colonial education system. Rather than being treated as equals of the mainlanders in Japan, they were subject to "an 'enslavement' that drove the colonised into servitude

to the Japanese colonisers" (ibid. 94). Such inequality is clearly evident in Taiwanese writings, which suggest that Japan's double standard of educating the Taiwanese to believe they were "Japanese" is to blame, as the Taiwanese on the island or in mainland Japan did not receive equal rights, even though the colonial officers claimed that the Taiwanese *were* Japanese.[104] Although these works are fictional, they reflect the social reality of Taiwanese intellectuals during colonial rule as they struggled to be recognised as Japanese subjects rather than just as the colonised Other.

After Taiwan and its neighbouring islands (the Penghu islands) were ceded to Japan by the Ch'ing Empire[105] during negotiations between China and Japan in 1895, Taiwan was under the Japanese colonial rule for half a century (1895-1945), and the Taiwanese were given no option but to "become Japanese," though it was never their decision to cede themselves to Japan. As a peripheral island of the Ch'ing Empire, they never had any voice nor were given any opportunities to express whether they wanted to become part of Japan or not. The sacrifices of the Chinese descendants and the indigenous Taiwanese on the island in the countless battles against the Japanese during the early years of colonial rule was the result of the Ch'ing Empire ceding Taiwan to the Japanese Empire in exchange for a ceasefire that ended the killing in mainland China (Benson and Matsumura 61). Significantly, as Liu points out, when

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[104] This is similar to what Homi Bhabha describes as the ambivalence of British colonial discourse in the chapter "Of Mimicry and Man" in *The Location of Culture*.

[105] The full name is the Empire of the Great Ch'ing, which was the last imperial dynasty of China. Ruled by Manchu emperors that ethnically originated from Northeastern China, the Ch'ing Dynasty lasted from 1644 to 1912.

Chinese Nationalists took over the island after the Second World War, research on Taiwanese literature during Japanese colonial rule was not permitted ("Whose Literature? Whose History?" 178). The prohibition was not lifted until the 1970s, as the government feared that issues explored in literature from that time might touch on the sensitive issue of Taiwanese national identity and thereby question the Chinese Nationalist government's legitimacy on the island (ibid. 178). Within the framework of Chinese Nationalist discourse, there were mainly debates about the legitimacy of political values but no further discussion on the ambivalence or hybridity of Taiwanese identity within/beyond the island (ibid. 178). Taiwanese writers' perceived abandonment of Chinese identity and pursuit of Japanese or Taiwanese identity in their literature was therefore "criminalised" under the oppressive rule of the Chinese Nationalist government (ibid. 178). This is quite ironic considering that it was originally China that "gave away" the island of Taiwan to Japan.

Among the Taiwanese writers who received a Japanese colonial education, Chung Li-he was one of the few exceptions because he chose to write in Chinese. Therefore, this earned him a reputation from the Chinese Nationalists as a patriotic (Chinese) writer who could be used as a role model for Taiwanese citizens and encourage them to promote the anti-Japan ideology and embrace China. Chung's love story about running away with his lover to Manchuria[106] and then to Beijing was dramatised as a patriotic film in post-war Taiwan, entitled *The Native Man*

[106] Manchuria was also one of the colonies of the Japanese Empire.

(1980). The film shared the same title as his eponymous short story "The Native Man" (1959), and was used to "convince" the post-war Taiwanese generation how much this Taiwanese writer was passionate about "returning" to China. It is quite ironic that the protagonist in the short story "The Native Man" in fact criticises the Chinese as barbarous "dog eaters." Stunned by the fact that his ancestors were actually from China, the protagonist, from a child's viewpoint, concludes that he is no longer Chinese because his grandparents are not dog eaters, nor him and his parents. Furthermore, although his works "Door"[107] and "The Sadness of the White Potato"[108] were written while he was in China, they reveal his deepest despair in realising Taiwanese were treated even worse in China than under Japanese colonial rule. Additionally, in his autobiographical novel *Li-shan Farm* (1976), which narrates his relationship with his lover Chung T'ai-mei, he reveals that the couple actually wanted to go to Japan rather than China. No matter if they took the wrong boat to a wrong destination, these examples show that that writing in Chinese does not automatically signal loyalty to "China," especially when there can be more than one notion of what constitutes Chinese identity,[109] and Chung himself actually worked for a Japanese company rather than participating ambitiously in any (Chinese) patriotic activities in Beijing. On the other hand, the Taiwanese writers who chose to write in Japanese and those who went to Japan were more active in

[107] Known as〈門〉in Chinese title.
[108] Known as〈白薯的悲哀〉in Chinese title.
[109] Chinese diasporans may have nostalgic emotional attachment to a notion of an authentic "China," but this can stem from differing points of engagement, such as to the China of the Ming Empire (1368-1644), the China of the Ch'ing Empire (1616-1912), or more contemporarily, People's Republic of China (PRC) or/and Republic of China (ROC).

anti-colonial meetings and activities and wrote back to the empire in order to show strong resistance in their literary works.

Japanophone Taiwanese writings therefore mark a significant moment in which Taiwanese cultures and identities evolved throughout the Japanese colonial and postcolonial years. In the Japanese literary field, those Taiwanese "*Kōmin* writers" still only had very limited space in which to survive since the more dominant voices on the scene were Japanese writers from the mainland, such as Nishikawa Mitsuru[110] and Sato Haruo,[111] who wrote about colonial Taiwan from the perspective of the colonial gaze. Further, the Japanophone Taiwanese writers did not receive due recognition either in mainland Japan or in their homeland in the post-war years. Instead, "*Kōmin* writers," as Liu suggests, were viewed as "dangerous" under the post-war rule of the Chinese Nationalist government ("Whose Literature? Whose History?" 178). She also points out that political correctness became the only scale on which measure the values of the literary works (ibid. 178). Therefore, the Japanophone literary works produced before and during the Second World War have been neglected deliberately, and it was taboo to study Taiwanese Japanophone literature in Taiwan until as recently as the 1970s (ibid. 178). As Liu pointed out, even after the 1970s, research was restricted under the framework and the interpretation of post-war Chinese Nationalist discourse (ibid. 178). Though research in the field seems to have thrived in the 1990s, the debates were limited to the

[110] Known as 西川滿 in Japanese kanji.
[111] Known as 佐籐春夫 in Japanese kanji.

legitimacy of political values expressed in the Taiwanese writings, especially those written after the outbreak of the second Sino-Japanese war in 1937; these texts have been criticised within the mainstream discourse for their apparent attempt to "become" Japanese reflected in literature, while allegedly forgetting to investigate Taiwanese suffering under the Japanese assimilation policy (ibid. 220). As a result of the dominance of analyses of Taiwanese literature undertaken within the disciplinary frameworks of history and sociology, there has been a relative lack of critical attention from the perspective of literary studies. A more in-depth exploration of the significance of literary representation and literary metaphor with regard to the perspectives that these authors try to convey in their literature is urgently needed. An analysis of the ways in which these authors embed Taiwan's colonial memory and resistance within their literary/artistic productions, along with an investigation of their stylistic approaches, should be the main focus of Taiwanese literary studies rather than political debates between pro-China or pro-Japan campaigns or services to the mainstream and dominant political values.

Conclusion

Taiwanese migrant experience and literary representations of this period in fact echo the Caribbean context discussed in Chapter 1, which also engages multiple routes and roots of migration. The literary works by the two authors in each chapter depict secondary migrant journeys from colonial homelands (Trinidad/Taiwan) to the imperial motherlands (Britain/Japan), and use the orphan as a metaphor for the

protagonists' sense of non-belonging, travelling across locations with the solitary feeling of the search for the self in a foreign/mother land. However, Weng's poems "In the Foreign Land" and "An Ode to a Bird," which were inspired significantly by his migrant voyage/routes across the sea, innovatively use the image of transitioning from the darkness to the daylight as a metaphor to suggest the voyage from colonial Taiwan to "civilised" Japan. Later, in the piece "A Poet's Lover," Weng continues to elaborate the concept of the diasporic voyage as he describes how a baby travels through the dark passage from the womb and wait for the moment to see the light, the moment of birth. In Weng's generation, Taiwanese (male) writers and intellectuals have had to bear the burden of Japanese colonial ideologies and could not escape from the overwhelmingly Japanese structures of modernity. Leaving for Japan was posited as the destiny of rising Taiwanese writers at the time. Taiwanese literature was a product of this "necessary journey," made by the authors, and it evolved out of an anxiety about colonising structures and early twentieth modernist metropolitan culture. As I have pointed out, in Wu's autobiographical narrative, *Orphan of Asia* is paradigmatic in mapping multiple diasporic routes between Taiwan, Japan and China, and it offers visions of the complexity intrinsic to Taiwan's cultural identity and its history of multiple routes/roots. Weng's last work, *Streets with a Port*, was inspired by the port space which is reminiscent of his first arrival in Japan and his hybrid status as a diasporic individual. Nevertheless, such journeys were only the privilege of a limited number of middle-class male individuals, and were nearly impossible for Taiwanese women at the time. In *Streets*

with a Port, Weng suggests the lack of opportunities for colonised women to travel according to their own free will, which marked a significant advancement among the works produced by Taiwanese male writers.

Recently, the notion of "coexistence with differences" (tasha to no kyosei)[112] has finally been adopted by post-war Japanese critics, such as Tarumi Chie.[113] This concept recognises a multiculturalism that developed from the entry of writers from the former colonies into the realm of Japanophone literature (Ching, "Give Me Japan" 775). Before this, it seems that there was only very limited space for works by Weng and other Taiwanese writers to survive in the realm of Japanese literary studies, which seemed to have had little interest in the literary productions from the (former) colonies (ibid. 775). Unfortunately, even in their homeland of Taiwan, post-war socio-political conditions could not offer a platform for these writers. Rather, Japanophone Taiwanese literature was burdened with a very negative reputation since the Chinese Nationalist government believed that its representation of Taiwanese identity could possibly open up a route to independence after the end of Japanese colonial rule.

Ambiguous sociocultural representations of Taiwanese identity and the misinterpretation of Japanophone Taiwanese literature, I would conclude, are actually outcomes of oppressive government control of literary consumption and interpretation rather than the result of the literature itself. Taiwanese diasporic literature, in fact, reveals the strength of the authors' desire to be treated as equal to

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[112] Ching quoted from Tarumi, *Taiwan no nihongo bungaku* 61.
[113] Known as 垂水千恵 in Japanese kanji.

Japanese citizens. It has never been "traitor's literature," though it was discursively constructed as such by the Chinese Nationalist government. Rather, it shows the depth of Taiwanese resistance toward Japanese colonial rule as well as the unequal treatment by "native" Chinese from the mainland. Such resistance and hybrid cultural identity associated with multiple diasporic routes/roots is particularly evident not just in the writing discussed in this chapter, but also in the metropolitan writings of both Selvon and Weng, which I will further explore in the next section of the thesis (Part II).

Part II

Writing Back to the Metropolis

Chapter III:

Caribbean London—The Black British *Flâneur* and Other Subjects

The street becomes a dwelling for the flâneur; he is as much at home among the facades of houses as a citizen in his walls. ---Walter Benjamin

To be away from home and yet to feel at home anywhere; to see the world, such are some of the minor pleasures of those independent, intense and impartial spirits, who do not lend themselves easily to linguistic definitions. -- Charles Baudelaire

Introduction: cosmopolis and postcolonial diasporic writing

The relation between migrant experience and the metropolis is often one of the core focal points in postcolonial diasporic writing. The city expands due to the endless newcomers who are keen to find employment and homes in the city. The concept of the city within postcolonial theory, culture and literature has been a fascinating topic as a result of its "troubled salience in the construction of postcolonial public spheres and identities, from local, rural, ethnic/tribal and regional to national, cosmopolitan and transnational subjects/positions" (Varma 1). Those that are now considered "global" cities, "metropolitan" cities or "core primary cities" of the twentieth and twenty-first century, such as New York, London and Tokyo (Sassen 2000, 2001; Friedman 1986; Varma 2012) have evolved significantly as a consequence of colonial history and their links with their former colonies that might be implicitly comparable (Varma 15). The cosmopolitan cities of the modern world are like giant

magnets that attract millions of people. Within a Marxist framework, Varma interprets urbanisation as an "outcome of development of the productive forces of capitalism and [containing] the potential for a new cosmopolitanism and cultural exchange" (ibid. 30). The cosmopolitan cities provide a space for global cultural exchange, and become centres for various diasporic/migrant communities to meet one another and remould some of their different worlds together within it. It becomes a possible location for "the formation of a world literature, or a literature that would travel across national and cultural borders and boundaries" (ibid. 30). In this regard, the metropolitan city, as a "world literary space," suggests the potential for a re-conceptualisation of "world literature" (ibid. 30). Selvon's London, for example, was created during a time when global reading interests were reoriented towards a "Third World aesthetic," with the hope of searching for a postcolonial or a postmodern perspective to re-interpret the world.

The postcolonial diasporic literary writings produced within this metropolitan space can be illuminated by Claire Alexander's proposal to read Andrew Salkey's *Anancy, Traveller* (1992) in terms "the struggle for an artistic form and style which [gives voice] to the experience of the colonised and of dislocation—of exile and arrival" (58). As agents and interpreters, transformers and translators, the postcolonial diasporic writers live a life of in-betweenness, neither living within a whole new horizon, nor leaving behind the past. More specifically, as Homi K. Bhabha puts it, diasporic writers live in transit, "where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and

outside, inclusion and exclusion" (*The Location of Culture* 1). This can be seen as a kind of "Middle Passage" of contemporary culture. Alexander further explains that:

> Increasingly, an exploration of 'in-between spaces' negotiates and contests absolute and essentialist notions of origin and nation, belonging and citizenship, through a performative articulation of reimagined perceptions of temporality and spatiality (58).

In the category of postcolonial diasporic literature, many works are commonly considered to be cosmopolitan. Among diasporic Caribbean writing in the 1950s, for example, in Selvon's and V. S. Naipaul's novels, modernist themes such as alienation, migration and urban life are commonly found. Edward K. Brathwaite, on the other hand, is known for his experimental essay on national languages, voice, rhythm and identity; his invocation of blues and jazz led to comparisons with T. S. Eliot and the American poet Langston Hughes (Low, *Publishing the Postcolonial* 107). Low interprets Peter Kalliney's argument that the interdependence of exiled Caribbean writing and the London intelligentsia is "a meeting of minds over a transatlantic modernism" while the literary commitment of Caribbean writers and their modernist outlook feature connections with the London literary communities (ibid. 106-7). The style of these London writers who have had the experience of having been colonised, as Kalliney points out, was significantly influenced by the white English writers in the local literary communities at the time, so that colonial antagonism was not the only theme in their writing, but also a relationship of

"affiliation, patronage, emulation and competition" with their white, mostly English counterparts in London (Kalliney 90).

The West Indian diasporic literary community in 1950s London

In Selvon's time, many writers, like Selvon himself, migrated to London in the 1950s to benefit from an "international" forum in which to produce their work. Migrating to London, was an exciting event for writers such as Selvon because the city had become an international "literary headquarters" for many famous or soon-to-be major writers from different parts of the world (Nasta, "Introduction" in *The Lonely Londoners* x). As John McLeod puts it in the introduction to *Postcolonial London*:

> There is another London being created here, one which admits the times and places of overseas to the supposedly humdrum heart of the aged British Empire, creating a novel environment which also epitomizes the perpetually changing milieu of city living (1).

Immigration to imperial cosmopolitan cities was a vital and inevitable part of diasporic journeys for many budding writers from colonised countries who attempted to develop their careers in these locations (ibid. 60). London, as a location where postcolonial writers immersed themselves in English high cultural reveries, has a long history of multicultural intellectual encounters and consequently, some critics argue that it is in fact the "heart of resistance to empire" (Boehmer 167). Writers from different colonial contexts met in London and were able to exchange

opinions and therefore to build up their cultural and social connections. London therefore held a special place for the first generation of post-war writers and became a stage for having their works published. As Kenneth Ramchand notes, while living in the English capital, the majority of West Indian novelists had their works first published there; he therefore concludes that during the post-war decades, London "was indisputably the West Indian literary capital" (63). Anglophone Caribbean writers made their literary debut in London and looked for a broader readership for their novels and plays: for example, John Figueroa arrived in London in 1946, then Edgar Mittelholzer followed in 1948; Lamming and Selvon shared the same boat to England in 1950; Edward Brathwaite and V. S. Naipaul also journeyed to London in the same year; Andrew Salkey in 1952; Michael Anthony in 1954 and Wilson Harris in 1959, just to name but a few.

Selvon states that he travelled to London specifically in order to develop his writing career:

> I went to London because I was becoming convinced that, had I stayed in Trinidad, I would have succumbed to the apathy which lured people into accepting their situation and social and cultural circumstances. I wanted to confront the challenge of mainstream culture, or what had been presented to me as such at school. I needed not only the intellectual stimulation but the possibility of being published, heard; the possibility of making a living by writing as I did for the BBC. Only in London did my life find its purpose (quoted by David Dabydeen, "West Indian

Writers in Britain" 66-7).

Living in the cosmopolis, as Iris Young suggests, is the "being-together of strangers" (318). It could be a pleasurable and enjoyable experience for postmodernists such as Young when first confronting one another as "Other" and different, and being thrown together with strangers in such literary spheres (See also Varma 170). In the case of Caribbean diasporic writing, these writers came from different islands such as Jamaica, Trinidad or Barbados and belonged to different worlds before they arrived in Britain; each of their literary productions created their own new, unique worlds as well. Caribbean migrant writers were able to take advantage of this (post)colonial urban space as the site for creating a "world literary space" that represents their struggles against and refusal of colonial capitalist cultural domination (Varma 31, 182). As Selvon reveals in an interview with Susheila Nasta:

> You see when this immigration happened, for the first time the Trinidadian got to know the Jamaican or the Barbadian, because in the islands themselves the communications were so bad that they never really got in touch with one another, they never got to know what happened in other islands. And it was only when they all came to London that this turned out to be a kind of meeting place where the Jamaican met the Trinidadian and the Barbadian and they got to know one another, they got to identify in a way as a people coming from a certain part of the world. Not so much as islanders, no, but as black immigrants living in the city of London. And so they got together, and it's a very strange thing that they had to move

> out of their own part of the world, and it was only when they came to London that this kind of identity happened to them ("Sam Selvon with Susheila Nasta" 14).

Through the encounters of these various diasporic communities in London, a worldly consciousness and its confrontation with Caribbean identity constructed within and beyond the Caribbean formed a template for twenty-first-century urbanisation. Literary, geographical and cultural boundaries cross within this writing, which meant that the diasporic author might address a multicultural diasporic community rather than just his own island audience. In such a trans-national and trans-geographical imaginative diasporic literary space, Caribbean writers were able to integrate in their new home and construct a new identity, which became a means of survival.

According to Low, in the immediate post-war decades, a number of London-based editors at new publishing houses and literary journals were excited by the new writing from a variety of budding writers from colonial backgrounds, and were directly responsible for putting them into print ("Finding the Centre?" 26). As a consequence, London's status as the centre of English literary publishing and culture was reinforced (Low, "Finding the Centre?" 26; McLeod, *Postcolonial London* 61). As Graham Huggan contends, however, the concept of postcolonialism is in danger of functioning as a commodity in the globalised world, as writers from the periphery were heavily reliant on metropolitan markets (6). Contrastingly, without being seen or having their works published, it would be impossible for postcolonial voices being heard. Dabydeen similarly points out that "To be a writer you had to be validated by

the centre, by being on the lists of a London publisher. To remain in the Caribbean was to languish in obscurity and indeed to court self-annihilation" ("West Indian Writers in Britain" 66). Therefore, writers born and bred in the formerly colonised countries, with fierce ambition and individual talent, boarded the *SS Windrush* and other later emigrant ships to Southampton and then took the train to London.

In her study *The Caribbean Artist's Movement in Britain between 1966 and 1972*, Anne Walmsley also remarks that:

> Would-be writers arriving in Britain from the Caribbean in the 1950s found a range of opportunities and encouragement open to them, especially if they lived in London. Book publishing was experiencing somewhat of a post-war boom; small, young publishing houses were eager to bring out work by fresh, vigorous new voices from far corners of the Commonwealth, especially those who used English with the fluency, individuality and verve of West Indians. Publishers found a ready market for books about these writers' tropical home environment and society, despite their containing much implicit, and, especially in the work of Lamming, explicit criticism of colonialism. Books which reflected the new phenomenon of West Indians making their home in London also found an audience (quoted by Dabydeen in "West Indian Writers in Britain" 69).

The period between 1952 and 1958 was a particularly prosperous one for Caribbean literary publication. Selvon, Lamming, Hearne, Mittleholzer, Naipaul and Salkey

published twenty books between them during these seven years, and the proportion winning literary prizes was also relatively high for these 1950s Caribbean writers. Although West Indians suffered the unwelcome experience of racial prejudice throughout the fifties in Britain, these honours in literature indicate clearly that West Indian literature had already gained entry into the Anglophone literary field.

For writers such as Selvon, Lamming and Naipaul, to name but a few, to live and to publish their works in the literary capital did not simply mean to take part in London literary communities, but to immerse themselves in the centre of English culture that had first prompted their departures from the Caribbean islands. For many prospective writers, a voyage to the imperial motherland was usually a privileged occasion to associate themselves with the "sacred gang" of English literature and indulge in the high culture of the Empire (McLeod, *Postcolonial London* 61). As Lamming puts it, throughout colonial education, England was positioned as superior to its colonies in literary taste and judgment: "for all the books they had read, their whole introduction to something called culture, all of it, in the form of words, came from Dickens, Jane Austen, Kipling and that sacred gang" (*The Pleasure of Exile* 27). Though the (ex-)colonised subjects, like Nirad C. Chaudhuri, might construct their fantasy about the imperial capital[114] just as McLeod argues, London came to function as a site where they believed that they could have equal opportunity to receive imperial notions of "culture" (*Postcolonial London* 61-2). London, for

[114] As Nirad C. Chaudhuri confessed, constructed upon "an enormous load of book-derived notions […] acquired from literature, history and geography" from the motherland of the English empire (*A Passage to England* 3-4).

Caribbean diasporic writers actually turned out to function as a base from which they wrote back to the imperial metropolis.

Re-writing the metropolis

Imperial London through the representations of non-white authors, was re-generated and re-invented as a lively metropolitan space. In 1950s London, during which decade Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* is set, there is another London constructed by new literature from the perspectives of the newcomers in the urban diasporic communities. Postcolonial diasporic literature is not only the conceptualisation of world/ly texts, but engages "an art of distance" that is in itself a struggle against varieties of cultural imperialism. In addition, it can also be read as appropriating or borrowing the norms and forms of modernity from the colonial metropole (Varma 31), but in a deferred and detoured way in time and space.

Anglophone detoured/ deferred modernist writing

The idea of detoured and deferred routes of postcolonial modernist aesthetics in literature can be considered with reference to Homi K. Bhabha's 1994 theoretical essay collection *The Location of Culture* (1994), which provides one possible pathway into this question. The difference and otherness in place and space, suggested by Bhabha in the book, is caused by the deferral of time and difference in space, which thus lead to the concepts of repetition and replication. Providing us with an alternative way to think about the detoured cultural routes and roots in an analysis

of literary diasporas, he offers a possible way in which to read postcolonial literature from multiple diasporic perspectives rather than as a simple paradigm of the voyage between the colonised and imperial lands.

Common among the diasporic literature of 1950s London are modernist themes such as migration and urban life. Exile and displacement have long been figured as the pre-requisite or the ineluctable condition of modernist aesthetic production. The mode of postcolonial/diasporic modernist writing influenced by 1920s high modernism might be understood as a literary enactment of Bhabha's idea of the desire for colonial mimicry (*The Location of Culture* 122). Writing back to the metropolis is also a crucial strategy to reform and regulate postcolonial diasporic literary identities, as the centre appropriates the postcolonial diasporic literary works from the colonial margins. The desire for mimicking the colonial model of modernist writing reproduces a reformed and a recognisable Other, who is, Bhabha emphasises, "a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (ibid. 122). As Bhabha argues, mimicry must still re-produce its slippage, its excess and its difference continually (ibid. 122), and when diasporic writers try to recreate a new version of "modernist" writing, their works will therefore look similar but are somehow not the same as the normalised and disciplinary forms of the "original" model. Mimicry, "as the sign of the inappropriate and as a difference or recalcitrance" coheres to the dominant colonial power and thus poses a threat to the former centre (ibid. 122-3).

Selvon's London writing, for example, brings together stories of Caribbean/

African "boys" of different backgrounds and of different emigrant routes to create a hybrid diasporic Black British community in his fictional world. Through such "belated" modernist writing, Caribbean diasporic writers used the immigrant experience as a prism through which to reinterpret the European metropolises, and re-defined their diasporic identity by mimicking high modernist/elite writing in the hope of selling their works to a broader readership in Britain. The detoured black British modernist writing that depicts their diasporic movements and the passage from the history of slavery to living in modern European cities can thus be seen as a strategy to survive among the London literary communities and to go beyond their literary boundaries in the Caribbean setting. Such literary embellishment is a kind of embodiment of European literary styles but in a way that deconstructs readers' assumptions about the "original" concept of elite, white and masculine urban literature in the 1920s apogee of high modernist writing in the imperial European cities. Rather than simply repeating so-called European modernist writing by presenting the elite, European white male's perspective on the literary metropole, postcolonial diasporic literature foregrounds the subordinated and diasporic subaltern living in the cities. At the same time, they expand the parameters of metropolitan literary writings beyond the ideas of canonical modernist literature in 1920s Europe, and provide us with a new aesthetic and the possibility of crossing class, race and gender boundaries.

Diasporic literary space and the black British *flâneur*

On *The Lonely Londoners*

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* (1956) is one of the crucial literary texts of the 1950s which depicts the Windrush generation of immigrants from the West Indies to Britain (see also Bentley 41). Distinctively narrating the loneliness, resentfulness, struggles, sufferings, excitement and happiness of living in London, it poignantly depicts the emotional turmoil of the diasporic experience for the first generation of Caribbean immigrants in 1950s London. The characters in the novel epitomise the lives of West Indian migrants, who were mostly male and single, and who came to London to find jobs. Living on the fringes of society, the daily experiences of these migrants were not known to many people, and even those who did know, such as job centre employees or workplace foremen, often did not seem to care about their struggles or see them as equal to white Britons (Dabydeen, "West Indian Writers in Britain" 64-70). Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* can be seen as a collection composed of mini episodic, overlapping and intersecting biographies of a group of West Indian migrants of different backgrounds who experience racial discrimination in the metropolitan sphere. What makes this work exceptional is the ways in which Selvon painstakingly depicts in considerable detail seemingly mundane stories of Caribbean immigrants during the 1950s who have been neglected by society. In Lamming's opinion, the history of the Caribbean is not very prominent in the official texts of colonial history, which fail to account for those "interior lives of men and women who were never thought to be sufficiently important for their thoughts and feelings to be registered"

(ibid. 5). Therefore, many left wing authors in Caribbean literary communities have devoted themselves to becoming social historians of sorts by telling stories that are "unregistered" in the documentary files (ibid. 5). Selvon's book *Moses Ascending* (1975) also bears witness to the significant transformation of the British cultural landscape after the Second World War. The massive Caribbean migration to the UK which began in the 1950s, and the subsequent Indian and Pakistani migrations in the 1960s established new communities in the former imperial centre and have contributed to "post-colonial" British identities since then. Many Caribbeans were employed to work in public services due to the workforce shortages in the UK; others were dependents, following their family members who migrated before them (McLeod, *Beginning Postcolonialism*, 206). In addition, some of them were political or economic refugees from their native lands (ibid. 206). Still others arrived in Britain in order to further their education (ibid. 206). As a consequence, post-colonial Britain gained its new identity and transformed into a multicultural and multi-ethnic society containing a wide variety of diasporic communities.

The major strength of *The Lonely Londoners* is in its depiction of characters. It is as if Selvon knew these immigrants intimately and privately. For example, he wrote about the stories of wife-beaters, cheats, weed-smokers, skirt-chasers, and so on. By exploring social stereotypes that British society attributed to black society, he exposed the issues of racial discrimination and unequal treatment. Selvon's black characters in the novel are transformed into multi-dimensional human beings, and readers are able to share their anxiety, their suffering, their happiness and their

frustrations, and can admire their sense of humour and determination when negotiating dwelling places in the streets whose doors or windows feature signs saying "Keep Britain White."

Located at the corner of Chepstow Road and Westbourne Grove, Moses's basement room in Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* serves as a safe zone for the new-comers from the West Indies. Like a Sunday chapel, the room offers a space where the West Indian "boys" get together to complain, meet with old friends and exchange news and information. Moses's basement room, though dim and wet, is still a castle for these Caribbean "boys." In here, it is London's black "utopia."[115] It isolates them from the harshness of daily life in London and divides the world into daylight and of darkness. Moses and the other West Indian "boys" are often offered some of the worst jobs in the city—when the night comes, they go out for work, and when the sun rises, it is time for them to go back to their cells to rest. As Procter argues, "the metropolitan basement room becomes the site at which a local West Indian landscape is conjured, offering a familiar territory, a communal reference point for conversation beneath the alienating streets of London" (*Dwelling Places* 41). By positing such a space in black British writing, Selvon focuses not on the poor and bleak condition of the basement dwelling space, but rather on uncovering the non-negotiable boundaries between races, which is still a sensitive issue in today's Britain. Their stories, in a way, create a "Third Space" in the metropolitan city.

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[115] James Procter argues that it is problematic to suggest that the basement is a utopian space of black solidarity and resistance as Fred Hill's argument repeatedly asserts (*Dwelling Places* 38). What I argue here does not mean that it is a perfect dwelling space for them, but the only space in which they can temporarily be free of the outside world that racist English society could offer them in the 1950s.

The "Third Space" is a term used by Homi Bhabha to refer to the inbetween space that inscribes and articulates culture's hybridity (*The Location of Culture* 56). But I would argue this is also a space of otherness and difference. The "Third Space" created in black British writing refers not only to the dwelling places as discussed above, but also to the public sphere in the city. In constructing the identity of the black British man as *flâneur*, the public sphere is an especially interesting element in black modernist writing. In "original" European modernist writing, central characters are often depicted strolling the streets in search of stories and a literary trope. This category of literary representation is usually associated with an artistic activity of observing the city and "discerning its various pleasures and attractions" (Procter, *Dwelling Places* 96), but usually from white male authors' gaze and perspectives. Women, prostitutes, members of the working-class and immigrants are the objects of this restless and voyeuristic gaze, which tends to focus on the urban "exotic" within the metropolis (ibid. 96). Through observing, contacting and crossing the boundaries of class, gender and race, those male city idlers, rhetorically called *flâneurs*, usually engage in a tangible encounter with representative Others from the distant colonies and outposts of empire (Shields 74). Contrastingly, in the third chapter of *Dwelling Places,* where he discusses London streets in postwar black British writing, Procter investigates the emergence of black pedestrian rhetorics and adaption by black British writers. He analyses the ways in which they transform their street experience into a new mode of living during the post-war period, and this highlights the formation of the significant new identity of the 1950s *flâneur* in the streets of

London (Procter, *Dwelling Places* 4). Procter gives a concise definition of the black British *flâneur* as follows:

> The *flâneur* is no casual stroller, but a detective of the street, capable of discerning its various pleasures and attractions: its smells, sounds, characters, and, most important of all, its *sights*. The *flâneur* is driven by a scopophilia that is marked by gender, race and class (ibid. 96-7).

Procter identifies male characters in black British literature from the early postwar years, such as Lamming's *The Pleasure of Exile*, Naipaul's *The Mimic Men* and Brathwaite's "Letter from Cambridge" (1953) as examples of the "black British *flâneur*" (ibid. 97). The image of the solitary male, usually as narrator or protagonist, wandering around and/or observing the streets is a recurring scene in which the black British pedestrian is ritually figured as a *flâneur* touring and discovering the monumental venues of the city (ibid. 97). By mimicking the tactics of the *flâneur*, the figure of the black British pedestrian explores the streets of the city in order to describe, rename, reinscribe, dominate and claim them in their possession, which, in fact, becomes an act of decolonisation. Although he is portrayed as a *flâneur* and as an observer, his position in the city is actually that of the "urban exotic," who were formerly "gazed" at from the colonial perspective, while here West Indian "boys" are granted the right to observe from their own perspectives.

We can also find a similar strategy in Naipaul's *The Mimic Men* when the protagonist Ralph Singh lives a life adrift in London, seeking the sensual and

physical attractions of city life, hoping to find order in the city, and trying to give himself a new personality. Naipaul depicts him as a *flâneur* figure who wanders the city, but who is non-white. Another character in Naipaul's *Half a Life* (2001), Willie, too, is an urban idler in London, living the life of a "bohemian-immigrant." The world of the Caribbean immigrants is a little world on its own. In Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners*, Galahad thinks of himself as a king walking in London city by dressing up his finest clothes and "bowing his head in a polite 'Good evening'" (75). The Anglicised man Harris dresses like an Englishman with an umbrella, a briefcase under his arm and *The Times* folded up in his pocket, making sure that the name of the newspaper is seen, and walks upright as if he is alone in the world (ibid. 103-4). He even throws a party in St Pancras Hall and acts like an English gentleman although he is a black immigrant (ibid. 103-4). Big City, who comes from an orphanage in Trinidad, likes to talk about the big cities of the world: "Big city for me […] None of this smalltime village life for me. Is New York and London and Paris, that is big life." (ibid. 83). He is a dreamer and likes to talk about his big dreams of living in the big cities and living a flamboyant life. He says to Moses that when he wins £75,000 one day, he will travel to Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Rome and then to San Francisco, Chicago and New York, and then sail his yacht in the Mediterranean and date women on the river in Italy. Old Cap, a West Indianised Nigerian, is wandering between women and always dresses in clean and pressed clothes with his hair combed and a white handkerchief, smoking cigarettes of the best quality. By placing such characters in their writings, authors such as Selvon and Naipaul challenge the

racial and class boundaries between white and non-white societies so as to seek ways of redefining the hybridity of their characters and their new identities in the host country.

I argue that although the Caribbean literary texts constituted a form of belated modernist writing and are still part of the colonial literary legacy in the imperial metropolis, they should also be seen as a new creative venture rather than copies or "peripheral" modernist writing.[116] To be more specific, we see the adaptation in mimicking Western modes of European modernist writing and the ambivalence of the image of the black British *flâneur*, which captures the doubleness of hybrid identities in literature. The images of Caribbean "boys" in Selvon's novel, for example, propose a different angle in reconstructing the idea of the *flâneur* in the process of re-presenting the different "self" in a postcolonial metropolis.

The modernist "self" in the work of Walter Benjamin and the French poet Charles Baudelaire's sense, as Varma suggests, neither represents the masses as any kind of collective, nor does he stand for any class; rather, he is a "shadow of the (bourgeois) male artist's sense of emasculation and distance from a collective politics" (Varma 43). By embodying the traditional sense of the "modernist self" in European modernism, the black British writers could, therefore, propel their black male characters into a status more equal to European white males by taking advantage of adapting this idea. However, there has been quite a lot criticism by feminist critics on Baudelaire's sexual politics, as they perceive his work as silencing women's voices,

[116] See Benita Parry "Aspects of Peripheral Modernisms" (2009).

and Benjamin's work as a masculinist appropriation of modernist urbanism (Varma 43). Such a masculinist modernity renders female characters as passive subjects so that the male and female characters are depicted in radically different terms with regard to their sense of subjectivity; under such circumstances, women were unable to emerge as active subjects of modernity whereas bourgeois men are free to enjoy self-reflection and are able to distance themselves from the lives and concerns of the masses in the city (ibid. 44).

The *flâneur*, who takes the form of a masculinist literary subject in modernist literature, can be traced in the works of *fin de siècle* aestheticism and decadence by European male modernist writers of the nineteenth century such as Charles Baudelaire, Emile Zola, Charles Dickens and Gustave Flaubert, and their experimental and Surrealist expression sometimes manifests in revolutionary and shocking metropolitan forms (ibid. 44). However, their desire of pursuing pleasure, as Varma criticises, uses women as "an *instrument* of bohemian masculine self-fashioning" to activate the modernist discourse of sexual adventure with anonymous women, often from a different class, and of seeking the pleasures of lingering on the edges of society without involving any risk materially and subjectively (ibid. 44-5). Feminist critics, in response to this, have pointed out that modernist writing's masculinist appropriation forced women into remaining silent on the sexual politics of the city (ibid. 43).

These masculinist values have consequently been "inherited" by some of the black British writers. In Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners,* the assertion of the

masculinity of West Indian male migrants actually reveals the reality of their marginalised and (sub)cultural identity and only by doing so can they pretend that they are equal to European white men in the fictional world. As Bently puts it:

> The empowerment of male marginalised groups in terms of class, youth and race is often produced at the expense of recognition of a "chain of equivalence" with the marginalised position of women…Such a marginalised position of women remains silent in the text through the production of dominant masculine and racial discourses (42-3).

As argued above, the masculine characteristics of the black British *flâneur* in black British novels are especially highlighted in order to challenge the normalised modernist conceptions of race in European modernism, but not the conceptions of gender and sexuality. White women characters in *The Lonely Londoners* are portrayed as unnamed girlfriends or sexual objects, which suggests that the women in the novel occupy even more peripheral positions in comparison to the experience of the black male immigrants, who are presented as the central focus of the texts, thereby performatively empowering black male immigrants. As such, this foregrounds the racist threat from the dominant white male population in the 1950s, an issue that Franz Fanon also raises in his pioneering study published during the same decade: *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952). Selvon's intention is, in fact, not to offer moral judgment, but to dramatise the prejudices involved in the stereotypical constructions of black identity in the fifties through laying stress on inter-racial

sexual encounters.

However, in 1950s British society, inter-racial sexual relationships were still considered to be unacceptable for many white families. In the episode when Bart visits his white girlfriend's family, Selvon depicts the brutal reality and the difficulty of inter-racial relationships at the time:

> 'You!' the father shouted, pointing a finger at Bart, 'You! What are you doing in my house? Get out! Get out this minute!'
> The old Bart start to stutter about how he is a Latin-American but the girl father wouldn't give him chance.
> 'Get out! Get out, I say!' The father want to throw Bart out the house, because he don't want no curly-hair children in the family (*The Lonely Londoners* 50-51).

In this context, the depiction of black British characters who have love affairs with white women has long been used as a liberating action to fight against dominant cultural values and social realities. But in the process, Selvon's Caribbean and black British immigrant characters still consciously or unconsciously reveal their masculinist identity in order to solidify their male characters' status as "*flâneurs*" who can exercise dominance over the female body. One of the most representative figures of the black *flâneur*, Old Cap, is described as "living without working, smoking the best cigarettes, never without women" (ibid. 45). All of his girlfriends are white women—two of them who are mentioned in the novel are a French girl and an Austrian girl. In the novel, the white women are drawn to Old Cap's money,

though he is merely pretending to be a prince of Nigeria. Although objectifying white female characters can be seen as a form of resistance to the European white patriarchal values constructed in Modernism, but the essence of such resistance has not yet been liberated from gender inequality, as this simply represents a switch from a white male-centred to black male-centred patriarchal system.

Being together with white girls makes the male subjects in the novel feel "good" about themselves, but being with black women is entirely another thing. In postcolonial urban writing by male authors such as Selvon, colonised female bodies are usually negatively represented as a disturbing presence. In the following passage, a black woman is portrayed as a comic embodiment of cultural backwardness. Tolroy's ma Tanty for example, is presented as a risible character in the novel, particularly in a scene where she forces Harris to dance to a Caribbean calypso song:

> Now all this time Tanty was looking for Harris, and when he take the floor with this sharp thing she spot him dancing. Tanty get up and push away dancers as she advance to Harris.
> "My boy!" She say, putting she hand on his shoulder, "I been looking for you all over. What happening, you avoiding the old lady, en? Too much you girl here to bother with Tanty, eh?"
> […] "What happen for that?" Tanty say, eyeing the white girl who look so embarrass. "You think I can't dance too? I had a set already with Tolroy, ask him."
> […] "Tell this girl to unlace you: you know what they playing? 'Fan Me Saga Boy Fan Me', and that is my favourite calypso. These English girls don't know how to dance calypso, man. Lady, excuse him," and before Harris know what happening

> Tanty swing him on the floor, pushing up she fat self against him. The poor fellar can't do anything, in two-twos Tanty had him in the centre of the floor while she swing she fat bottom left and right (ibid. 109-110).

As a black female character, in Selvon's narrative Tanty seems to be an inadequate subject of modernity in the city. Though Harris is also a comic character whose "black" bourgeois experience and self-consciousness distances him from his fellow West Indian friends in the city, the figure of the woman in the novel is displayed as a proponent of old-fashioned ways and cultural backwardness. In contrast to the Caribbean black *flâneurs* in London city, who are more confident in wandering in the streets, the black woman subject, as symbolised by Tanty in Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners*, is not only depicted as backward and an improper "modernist" subject in the metropolis, but is also constrained by domestic chores and family obligations and is therefore unable to move independently beyond her comfort zone associated with her Jamaican homeland. In the episode which describes Tanty's journey from her migrant community on Harrow Road to Lyons Corner House, where Ma works, Selvon shows Tanty's travel in the city. However, she does not wander the city as an "everyday practice" since this (un)consciously marks men's privilege, and is thus dangerous for female city dwellers. Consequently, such literary depictions illustrate the gendered hierarchy within black immigrant culture in London. As Selvon writes:

> Like how some people live in small village and never go to the city, so Tanty settle down in the Harrow Road in the

> Working Class area….
> "Why you don't take a tube and go and see the big stores it have in Oxford Street," Ma say, but Tanty shake her head.
> "I too old for that now," she say, "it don't matter to me, I will stay here by the Harrow Road." (ibid. 68)

Nevertheless, Tanty secretly makes up her mind to travel on the Tube or buses in London if she has a good chance or a good reason. One day she finally gets the opportunity to do this when the key of the cupboard is taken by Ma, Tolroy is out, and the children are spending time with Agnes. She is alone in the house:

> She decide to brave London and go to this place where Ma working to get the keys.
> She put on the old fireman coat that Tolroy did get for her, and she tie a piece of coloured cloth on her head, and she went out to the Harrow Road.
> …
> Though Tanty never went on the tube, she was like those people who feel familiar with a thing just by reading about it and hearing about it. Everyone does talk about the tubes and take them for granted, and even Tanty with she big mouth does have something to say: "How you come? By tube? You travel on the Bakerloo Line? And you change to the Central at Tottenham Court Road? But I thought it was the Metropolitan Line that does pass there!" (ibid. 69-70)

By the end of the episode, though frightened, Tanty feels good that she has finally made her "odyssey" beyond Harrow Road and her familiar environment. This

episode, again, reinforces the efforts of male modernist writers such Selvon to construct the city as a primarily male public sphere, with only limited accessibility for women. The ideas of imperial and male-centred power, which shaped the understanding of gender difference and sexuality in the Western metropolis for white male writers, but here also for black ones.

By immobilising the (black) female characters, the male protagonists can, in a way, reflect their mobility as black British *flâneurs* in the city. In Rhys's novels, on the other hand, the struggles and resistance of the Creolised female characters unveil the brutal reality and double oppression of gender inequality in the male public sphere. Her female protagonists' suffering and resistance against patriarchal values and experiences of the pressures of city life address a lacuna to which the work of black male writers such as Selvon's pay little attention to.

Dark voyage: black women in the metropolis

In much European modernist writing, the female body, as it is represented through a male author's perspective, is often deployed as an *Other* or a commodified object which can be exchanged for money in the patriarchal metropolitan space, although Virginia Woolf's novel *Mrs Dalloway* (1925) provides us with an ideal opportunity to read literary modernism from a woman's perspective. In elite masculinist configurations and accounts of literary modernism, the lower class or working class female is often a peripheral figure. As we find out in Caribbean female writer Jean Rhys's fictional world, the metropolitan space for female city dwellers of colour or

of a creolised background seems to be much more limited than it is for the black male "*flâneur.*" In *Voyage in the Dark* (1934), from Rhys's Creole female protagonist's perspective, London is divided into two worlds: daytime London is the domain of men, whilst the darkness is associated with her female characters, simultaneously womblike but also conveying a sense of insecurity and unfriendliness for women who wander the city. In her novel *Good Morning, Midnight* (1939), Rhys borrows from Emily Dickinson's poem of the same name to explain why the protagonist Sophia has to bid farewell to the morning, and introduce herself to the darkness. It is not because Sophia does not like the warmth of the daylight, but it is because the day is used as a metaphor for the male who rejects her. Night-time in the city is not a safe space for women, and it is in fact quite dangerous and could be easily linked to criminal activity. Rhys uses this association to suggest that female city dwellers, for example Anna in *Voyage in the Dark* and Sophia in *Good Morning, Midnight*, have limited mobility and are controlled by men, especially white middle-class men, as well as by money and a materialist metropolitan culture. In Rhys's novels, the issues facing women in the metropolis mainly centre on money, love and affairs with wealthy white men. In order for the female protagonists to survive in such a patriarchal space, they need financial support from their male friends; therefore, it seems impossible for them to go wherever they like. Also, Rhys is consciously aware of these unequal relationships between men and women, and she engages with not only the subject of gender inequality but with racial problems. For example, in one passage of *Voyage in the Dark* the protagonist Anna Morgan

shouts at one of her financial sponsors, “you’re trying to make out that my mother was coloured,” and runs away in irritation (Rhys 56). The Creole woman in the novel can, therefore, be seen as an oppressed victim of such a highly materialist metropolitan society—one who is without a sense of self or independence.

In Rhys’s *Good Morning, Midnight*, she explains why her female protagonists belong to the darkness. In the beginning of the novel, she quotes Emily Dickinson’s poem to explain its title:

> “Good morning, Midnight! I’m coming home, Day got tired of me—How could I of him? Sunshine was a sweet place, I liked to stay—But morn didn’t want me—now—So good night, Day!” (Rhys, *Good Morning, Midnight* 8)

The reason for this title is not that the protagonist Sophia Jansen does not like the daylight; instead, she likes its warmth and sweetness, but she feels deserted by the morning and therefore embraces the night. As mentioned above, the darkness is used as an allegorical space for female city dwellers, and it creates a sense of insecurity for a woman living and moving in the city. Though the protagonist Sophia in *Good Morning, Midnight* still insists on searching for brightness, her efforts are, nevertheless, in vain. In the scene when she looks for a bright room in the hotel, she is given a dark room facing the courtyard. She says to the girl who leads her there, “I want a light room…I mean a light room. A *light* one. Not a dark one,” but the girl turns on the lamp by the bed, staring at her and assumisng she is a bit crazy (ibid.

33).

Besides the darkness, another restriction for female mobility in the city is the fact that women are portrayed as either possessions or as financially dependent on men. Anna and Sophia's movements in the novels suggest they are under men's control since without financial support, they are not able to go wherever they like. They can therefore only have access to such cosmopolitan space that is simultaneously regarded to be masculine, colonial and English, occupying a kind of subaltern position (See also Varma 74).

Rhys's contribution, as a diasporic, white Creole female author, is that her works challenge the racial and sexual boundaries of the canonical modernist literary tradition by placing her female protagonists in an ambiguous position within the imperial metropolis. In particular, her female protagonists embody this sense of being outside of the social categories of class and race. The unhomely woman on the edge of modernist urbanism has become a defining figure of resistance in Rhys's fiction. This is partly owing to her own hybrid upbringing as a woman of mixed national heritages with a background of multiple colonial and diasporic routes. She is now increasingly read as a black female writer even though she also had European heritage from her Welsh father (ibid. 52). In her memoir *Smile Please* (1979), Rhys also considers her cultural origins as "pseudo-English" (135). Her novel *Voyage in the Dark* (1934) can therefore be read as an insightful critique on postcolonial feminist urbanism that sharply challenges the norms of contemporaneous urban narratives. In this text she foregrounds the reading of imperial metropolitanism

through the figure of an unhomely woman—a stranger who is unable to settle somewhere and obtain proper colonial citizenship.

Through exploring the transition of the subjectivity from black *flâneurs* to Creole women, both Selvon and Rhys implicitly posit Creole female characters as doubly oppressed subjects in metropolitan literary space, suggesting that while black subjects started to develop new identities by modifying European modernist values, Creole women still remained peripheral figures within postcolonial diasporic communities. In Selvon's novels, Creole female characters are portrayed as comparatively inferior subjects who are unable to move or less able to think independently from the perspective of Creole male characters. Whilst Rhys tells the stories of Creole women being attached to men (white men especially) from a female perspective where she is commenting on the fact that gender inequality has not been solved even when Creole women like herself have been empowered to write.

Conclusion

In the 1950s, London became a destination for many formerly colonised immigrants who were to become writers. Publishing their works with London's renowned publishing houses provided them a possibility to have their literature read globally. Perhaps most importantly, however, many of these authors had long been influenced by English literature produced in the cultural capital of London, which might also have motivated them to set off on such a long journey from their homelands to Britain. In their literature, there is some adaption of Western modes of modernist

writing, which illustrates the doubleness of hybrid identities. Their diasporic journeys and their unique cultural heritage make their (trans-Atlantic or cross-continental) modernist writings different from the Western modes which emerged from Europe. Nevertheless, these works were initially known as "alternative" modernist writing, which suggests that they are "copies" and "lesser inflections" of Western paradigms (Parry 28). Accordingly, Benita Parry suggests that these works should be re-named as "peripheral modernist" texts since they actually "share a common reference provided by global capitalism and its requirements" (28). Parry points out that black British modernism, or in her words "peripheral modernism," does not follow or copy mainstream modernism, but both in fact follow the same core of global capital or are based on similar values of capitalism. However, the hierarchy which ranks the core or peripheral literary works will always remain the same as long as the core texts are still Western European- or American-centred. Although it is similar to Western modernism in some aspects, I would argue that black British modernist writing is a different venture as it does not share the same values as European modernism, or the so-called "mainstream modernism" (ibid. 1). Rather, it is an act of writing back to the metropole and an act of decolonisation. Their re-writing of the former imperial capital(s), in a way, also re-defines a new diasporic cultural/literary identity and introduces the values of postcolonialism in a postwar diasporic space where new identities form and where authors and people from different parts of the world meet. This chapter has discussed Selvon's modernist London which he portrays in his texts and which objectifies

female characters in order to construct their black British characters/protagonists as urban dwellers, *flaneurs* and urban dandies. His female characters, including working-class white women and black women are represented as the doubly-oppressed subjects in the imperial cosmopolis. So we may say that gender equality is not yet evident in this particular strand of post-war (postcolonial/diasporic) literature. Rather, black or working-class women are doubly-oppressed in the patriarchal metropolitan literary space. The last part of this chapter therefore compares Creole female author Rhys's female metropolitan space with Selvon's London and seeks to provide an alternative perspective from which to re-read and understand the limitations and issues of the representation of female characters in black British writing. I would conclude that only when the (black) woman is liberated in the male dominated space in postcolonial modernist writing will it become possible to mark a moment of real liberation for the Caribbean or the black British subject.

Following on from this, my next chapter will explore the status of the Japanophone literary capital, Tokyo, during the decade when Weng composed most of his works, and analyse Weng's adaption of elements from the "detoured" modernist writing (Japanese Neosensualism) and European modernism in order to investigate Weng's strategies of foregrounding colonised male subjects in literature. Moreover, by investigating the complicated status of Tokyo as a modernist and the only non-white/non-European imperial capital in East Asia, Chapter 4 will raise the issues of "yellowness" and "mock-whiteness" in the context of Neosensualist Tokyo,

where Weng portrays a unique power relation between the coloniser (Japan), the colonised (Taiwan) and the West.

Chapter IV:

Neosensualism and Weng Nao's Literary Tokyo

Introduction

Recent studies of Neosensualism in Japan and in China seem to limit themselves to the boundaries of national literary studies, or, at best, Neosensualism is understood as a literary trend influenced by European modernism. In reality, it is actually a cross-cultural phenomenon that has taken place between European and East Asian countries, and Taiwanese writers have played a significant role in the development of the movement. Neosensualism has been introduced to mainland Chinese writers by Taiwanese author Liu Na'ou, who obtained most of his education in Japan, and it has been subsequently developed outwith Japan. Other Taiwanese Neosensualist authors, such as Weng Nao, Wu Yung-fu and Wang Ch'ang-hsiung are even less known for their direct contribution to the Japanophone literary scene within mainland Japan in the process of "writing back" to the imperial centre. Like many other Taiwanese writers, Weng set off on his journey to his dream destination, Tokyo, to pursue a literary career in 1934, and it was during this period that his literary achievement reached a peak. Almost all of his works were published during the years when he was in Tokyo, a city which offered him a platform as a novelist, a poet and an artist. Besides his childhood memories of life in Chang-hua, his experience living in Tokyo also contributed significantly to his modernist practice in works such as "Musical Clock" (1935), "Remaining Snow" (1935) and "A Love Story before Dawn" (1937).

Tokyo is so important to him that it is almost impossible to understand his works without exploring his reconceptualisation of Tokyo. His writing style also owes much to metropolitan writing. Rather than following Marxist proletarian literary methods, which most Taiwanese authors did at the time, Weng was one of the few followers of the Neosensualist School[117] (*Shin-kankakuha*). His new and modernist experimental techniques of representation and sophisticated descriptions of the loneliness of urban life and the inner desires of human minds made his works distinct from those of other Taiwanese diasporic authors in the 1930s. However, Weng received quite a lot of negative criticism from his peers such as Yang I-chou with regard to his specific writing style and detailed description of inner sexual desires[118] because these elements were far beyond what East Asian[119] or Taiwanese literary communities[120] deemed acceptable in the early twentieth century. This chapter argues that Weng's literary status is in fact far more important than the Taiwanese literati could have imagined during his lifetime. Furthermore, I will argue that he was

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[117] The Japanese modernist school *Shin-kankakuha* (Neosensualism) was influenced by European modernism and was led by many major Japanese modernist writers such as Kawabata Yasunari [川端 康成] (1899-1972), Tanizaki Jun'ichirō [谷崎 潤一郎] (1889-1965), Yokomitsu Riichi [横光 利一] (1889-1947), Hayashi Fumiko [林 芙美子] (1901-47) and Sato Waruo [佐藤 春夫] (1892-1964). These authors insisted on presenting literature according to the "primacy of aesthetics over politics or any other 'extra-literary' considerations" (Starrs, "Modernism and Japanese Culture" 153-4). However, it is widely considered that the Taiwanese modernist movement was yet to be inaugurated in the 1960s (Sinophone writing in Taiwan). Usually excluded from consideration within either Chinese or Japanese literary contexts, Japanophone Taiwanese writers had already adapted Western and Japanese modernist writing in the 1930s and Taiwanese author Liu Na'ou also led the Shanghai modernist trend in the first half of the twentieth century in mainland China.

[118] It is a genre of Japanese modern literature, written as私小說 (*watakushi shosetsu* or *shi-shosetsu*), which "designates an autobiographical narrative in which the author is thought to recount faithfully the details of his or her personal life relating to sexual desire in a thin guise of fiction" (Suzuki 1).

[119] For example, Shu-mei Shih's *The Lure of the Modern* (2001) points out that in Republican China, modernism was criticised as "morally corrupt, decadent and escapist, unfit and useless for the Chinese, a degenerate version and unworthy imitator of Western modernism, shallow and unsophisticated" (43).

[120] See the discussion in Introduction, page 21.

not merely a follower of the Japanese Neosensualist School, but was in fact a pioneering artist since his modified modernist writing presents a Taiwanese literary identity that is unique to 1930s Japanophone literature.

This chapter examines detoured and deferred modernist writing and hybridities in the early-twentieth-century metropolitan diasporic space of Weng Nao's literary Tokyo, a city which is the site of a complex tension between Westernised Japanese colonial modernity and the resistance of the colonised. This chapter begins by exploring the significance of the city of Tokyo as a literary and cultural capital in early-twentieth-century East Asia in order to foreground its articulation within Weng's diasporic experience and his literary world, which I will explore in later sections. Next, I will discuss Weng's adaption of Japanese Neosensualist writing, which, I argue, can be considered as an expression of resistance to colonial modernist values. In terms of form, context and themes, Weng's modified modernist Tokyo writings show his uniqueness as a Taiwanese diasporic writer rather than as merely a follower of Japanese Neosensualist literature.

Tokyo as literary forum for Japanese/Taiwanese modernist writing

By 1910, the Japanese literary and art worlds (*bundan* and *gadan*) were already open to ideas from the revolutionary movements of early-twentieth century European modernism, and these new developments were soon to be incubated by Japanese artists and introduced to Japan with surprising alacrity (Starrs, "The Japanese Modernist Generation, 1912-1931" 103). In two decades' time, they seemed to be

ready to participate in these avant-garde movements in literature that "marked the rise of international 'high modernism'" (ibid. 103-4). There were two main schools in Japan at the time, the Mavo and the *Shin-kankakuha* (Neosensualism), which adapted European modernist influences. The Mavo, led by Murayama Tomoyoshi,[121] who returned to Tokyo in 1923 from Germany, engaged in a wide range of artistic activities including magazine publications, performance art and architecture, with an intent to oppose "the subjectivism and lofty, refined, elitist aestheticism prevalent in the established art world of the time and 'championed the reintegration of art into the social and political practice of everyday life'" (ibid. 104). Unlike other Japanese modernists, most notably the Neosensualist School, the Mavo considered themselves sociopolitical and revolutionary activists. The Neosensualist School, on the other hand, insisted on producing literature which prioitises the literary aesthetics over politics (ibid. 153-4). The magazine *Bungei jidai* (*Literary Age*, 1924-1927) played an important role by enabling the group of *Shin-kankakuha* (Neosensualism) to present their literary ideals (Putzar 208). Their works exist in opposition to the Marxist "proletarian literature" school which also appeared at that time (Starrs, "Kawabata as Modernist and Anti-Modernist" 153-4). This group of young writers considered themselves artists and sought to focus on pure aesthetics without political interference (Starrs, "The Japanese Modernist Generation" 105). Like other 1920s modernist artists, their ambition was also to depict the typical modern urban experience that was undergoing dramatic growth around the world's industrialised

[121] Known as 村山知義 in Japanese kanji.

nation-states that were the prime sites of high modernist culture (ibid. 117). Their objective was to develop a new literary aesthetic in order to capture or express emotional, sensual and cognitive experiences in such a space (ibid. 117). Their work indexed an ever-accelerating pace of life and many other new elements that constructed modern urban life, such as factories, cafes, night clubs, modern transport, jazz music, department stores, and so on.

In a way, Meiji[122] Westernisation and modernisation successfully transformed Japan from an oppressed and marginal other into a powerful nation state, but such a violent transformation engendered a sense of loss in the inner cognitive experience of the Japanese people. As Taiwanese scholars Chu Huei-chu[123] and Shu-mei Shih observe, this transformation was the basis of a rising Asian colonial power in the early twentieth century, and Westernisation also influenced many perspectives on life in its colonies such as Taiwan, Okinawa, Korea, Manchuria and its "semi-colony" Shanghai[124] ("Modernity as Borderland Sphere" 74; *The Lure of the Modern* 232). Literature from this period reflects the modern urban life experience, which has long been cited as the most important subject in Neosensualist writing. This literature bears witness to the inevitable confrontations and contradictions that the process of modernisation brought into traditional societies in the Eastern countries. Shih in her

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[122] Dating from 1868 to 1912, the Meiji period is well-known for its Westernisation. The Meiji Restoration (明治維新) period was a crucial period for Japan's modernisation and the emergence of the Japanese colonial empire in the early twentieth century.

[123] Known as 朱惠足 in Taiwan. The English spelling is according to the Taiwanese modified WG system, which is used by Chu as her English name in her English publications.

[124] Shanghai Neosensualism was founded by Liu Na'ou, a Japan-educated Taiwanese. He assimilated himself into the Shanghai literary scene, and is now widely recognised as the leading proponent of Chinese Neosensualism (Shih, *The Lure of the Modern* 276).

book also suggests that due to the orientation of Japanese Neosensualism, literary writing in the 1930s that shared modernist values was actually not a local or national movement but rather an international phenomenon which influenced literary trends in East Asia (231).

In the 1930s, the Japanese Empire provided the inhabitants of Tokyo and its colonised people with a powerful sense of the modernised world that was encased in their city. Thus, literary works produced by Taiwanese or Chinese writers were accused of endorsing Japanese imperial ideologies (ibid. 231). Tokyo city as the modern metropolis in East Asia from the late nineteenth century to the early decades of the twentieth century resisted all the so-called "backward and non-modern associations of the colonies" and served as an indicator of how the capital city of the colonial empire should (under the definition of Western values) encapsulate itself in order to show off both the glory and the changing status of the Japanese Empire. Tokyo's significance as a major East Asian metropolis of modernist artistic output has been consistently outflanked by European capitals like London or Paris such that it has remained marginal to the world's literary history. However, the concept of Tokyo, especially in the colonies of the Japanese Empire, was usually combined with a distinct colonial identity predicated on its pan-Asian reach, which was constructed, translated and transmitted by Japanese colonial administrators, educators and Japanese writers. To be more specific, Tokyo's modernity was constructed as having a central role in creating the Empire in its image, and for many Taiwanese writers during colonial rule it was a destination for pursuing writing careers and for "great

expectations."

In the early twentieth century Tokyo was also an East Asian hub for receiving the latest ideas and thoughts from European countries. Lü points out that Tokyo was the main destination for intellectuals from the colonies who wished to further their studies as Japan was considered to be the most modernised country in East Asia and the synonym of "modernity," and China was not as modern/Westernised as Japan at the time (4). Tokyo-based Japanese modernist writers have also played a significant role in digesting, reproducing and reintroducting Western cultures to Japan and exporting them to its East Asian colonies. Taiwanese modernist writing is therefore considered to be significantly influenced by such detoured, Westernised modernist models from Japanese writers. Heading for Tokyo to pursue the latest literary trends and writing techniques in Japan was also believed to be the most fashionable course for Taiwanese writers in the 1930s.

During the 1930s Tokyo became a linguistic contact zone for international literature(s) and a hub for encounters of the literati—not only for Japanese authors from different parts of Japan, but also for authors from its colonies. During that time, Taiwanese writers also travelled from their homeland to the colonial capital Tokyo to establish magazines, journals and to publish books. According to Yang Tzu-ch'iao,[125] Tokyo was the only place that offered artistic inspiration for Taiwanese intellectuals because there were few such opportunities in colonial Taiwan (164). As the imperial capital of the Japanese Empire, Tokyo became a

[125] Known as 羊子喬 in Taiwan; the transcription is according to the WG system.

literary destination for would-be writers from the colonies. Pursuing a literary career in Tokyo provided a possibility to have their works read by the Japanophone world outside colonial Taiwan. Therefore, imperial Tokyo under the representation of non-*Yamato* (Non-Japanese) authors was discursively re-generated and re-invented as a lively metropolitan space. When Weng arrived in Tokyo, there were already quite a few literary societies and meetings organised by Taiwanese writers and artists:

> 一九三四年翁鬧來到東京時，一九三二年成立的「台灣藝術研究會」結社已近尾聲，同年九月吳坤煌、林兌、王白淵、張文環、葉秋木等十餘人成立左翼文化運動「東京台灣人文化同好會」。 […] 一九三五年轉型為「台灣文藝聯盟東京支部」，吳坤煌再度歸隊，成為東京支部的靈魂人物，此時他便引進翁鬧參與各種活動，這是翁鬧與「台灣文藝聯盟東京支部」的淵源，時為一九三五年。 In 1934, when Weng Nao came to Tokyo, the Taiwanese Art Society, which was established in 1932, had come to an end. In the same year, led by Wu K'un-huang[126], Lin Tui[127], Wang Pai-yuan[128], Chang Wen-huan[129] and Yeh Ch'iu-mu[130], the Tokyo Taiwanese Culture Association was established as part of a left-wing cultural movement […] In 1935 it was transformed into the Taiwanese Art and Culture Association Tokyo branch. Wu K'un-huang was the leading figure at that time, and he introduced Weng Nao to the association. This was how Weng Nao had a connection with the association in the year of 1935.

[126] The transcription is according to the WG system.
[127] The transcription is according to the WG system.
[128] The transcription is according to the WG system.
[129] The transcription is according to the WG system.
[130] The transcription is according to the WG system.

(Yang 164-5) [My translation]

However, the conflicts of the material conditions in colonial Taiwan and industrial capitalism in Japan enabled the oppositional narratives to come to prominence in the literary sphere of the imperial cosmopolis. It is very likely that multi-layered versions of living experience co-exist in this multiple space of the imperial centre. In the 1930s, Taiwanese writing initially gained access to Japanese literary communities. In the summer of 1931, Taiwanese writer Wang Pai-yuan had his collection of poems *Thorn Road*[131] published by the Japanese publisher Kubojou Bookstore in Morioka.[132] In 1934 another famous writer, Yang K'uei[133] published the complete version of his short story "Newspaper Boy" in Japan, which was banned by the Japanese colonial authorities in colonial Taiwan and Taiwanese readers could only access parts of the work published in *The Taiwanese People's Newspaper*[134] from the 19th to the 27th of May 1932 (Kawahara 212). The editor of *Taiwanese People's Newspaper*, Lai He,[135] therefore sent the "controversial" works to Japanese publishers, and with the help of Lai, many works by Taiwanese young writers, like *Newspaper Boy,* could then be published in Japan (ibid.212).

Ironically, for Taiwanese writers in such cases, Japan became a liberal destination for pursuing a literary career as their works did not have to be closely examined by the colonial authorities on the island (ibid. 124). In 1897, the colonial

[131] The Japanese title is《棘の道》.
[132] Known as 盛岡：久保庄書店 in Japan.
[133] Known as 楊逵 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the WG system.
[134] Known as《台灣新民報》in Taiwan.
[135] Known as 賴和 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the WG system.

authorities in Taiwan were authorised to make laws according to the "specific" needs of ruling Taiwanese people in order to prevent anti-colonial activities on the island (ibid. 124). People on the island lived in the fear of being arrested and punished once the colonial authorities suspected that they were working against the colonial government. Consequently, many anti-colonial societies and literary magazines were established in Tokyo in order to escape from and resist the colonial laws on the island. Literary magazines, such as *The Taiwanese People's Newspaper*, were published in Tokyo and later took a detour back to the Taiwanese audience (ibid. 129).

Significantly influenced by Japanese modernist writing between the 1910s and 1930s, Taiwanese New Literature ingrained writings by both revolutionary Taiwanese socio-political and aesthetic intellectuals from the two main schools—Marxist Proletarian literature, which portrays the suffering and social inequalities among people, and Neosensualist writing, which pursues pure aesthetics without political interference. Among the first category, Yang K'uei's "Newspaper Boy" (1932) and Yang Shou-yu's[136] "A Group of Unemployed People" (1931) and "The Inevitable Death in the Year of Crop Failure" (1929), for example, tell the miserable stories of crofters under the repressive colonial authority. The second category—Neosensualism, featuring works such as Weng Nao's "Musical Clock" (1935), "A Love Story before Dawn" (1937) and "Remaining Snow" (1935) and Wu Yung-fu's "Body and Soul" (1933) and Wang Ch'ang-hsiung's *A Torrent* (1943), on

[136] Known as 楊守愚 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the WG system.

the other hand, focus on the sophisticated and subtle inner emotions of human minds with experimental new techniques of literary representation—in particular, a new kind of literary representation that more directly or concretely expresses the author's sensory experience in order to "write back" to imperial metropolitan writing.

Weng Nao was one of the few followers of Neosensualism as the themes and writing techniques of Neosensualist writings are far ahead of what the vast majority of Taiwanese readers could accept in the 1930s. Unlike most of the Taiwanese diasporic writers at the time who focused more on socio-political issues, Neosensualist writers like Weng were not readily accepted in the Taiwanese literary field and were considered instead to be the followers of Diabolism (Shi 206). However, I argue that Weng's contribution is far more important than the Taiwanese literati could have imagined at the time since his experimental Neosensualist writing focuses mainly on the decadence of urban life and subtle self narrations provide a unique literary representation, which is singular amongst Japanophone Taiwanese literature from the 1930s.

The Neosensualist movement, which focused significantly on detailed descriptions of sensual and sexual experience in literature, posed a challenge to traditional values in East Asian societies, including Japan. Weng's schoolmate Yang I-chou describes Weng as a sexual fetishist who adored modern Japanese girls and lived a life of decadence, and says that it is unsurprising that he died after five years living in Tokyo (139-42). With little support from his Taiwanese peers, Weng himself saw himself as a *flâneur*, wandering in the streets of Tokyo city as one who

would never return to his homeland, Taiwan. He writes in the essay "The Border of Kōenji—Tokyo Suburban Streets for the *Flâneur*":

> 高圓寺の萬年文學青年達よ！
> 何を戸惑ひして、
> ひよろノヽと何時までも飯も碌すつぽ食はずに街を迂路つき廻つてゐるのだ。
> The young literati in Kōenji!
> Why are you lingering at the border of Kōenji?
> Though you are starving,
> are you still stubborn about not leaving here?
> (17) [My translation]

He also comments on his personality as exactly suited to life in Kōenji, where many writers and artists lived since it is a suburb of Tokyo[137] and the rent was cheaper. He says:

> 東京へ來てからずゐぶんあちこちと轉々して住んだが、どうも脚が地につかなく、始終追ひまくちれる心地でとゞのつまりがまた此の高圓寺へ舞ひ戻らぬばならぬ羽目になつた。Since I came to Tokyo, I have been restlessly moving from one place to another. So far the only suitable place for me is Kōenji. Probably this wretched place is exactly right for a person like me. I do not have to worry about moving to other places again from now on. (ibid. 13) [my translation]

Tokyo's suburbs near Kōenji provided observers with simultaneously intriguing and

[137] Now it has already become a part of the greater Tokyo.

repellent scenes of poverty and chaos that needed to be kept at a distance from the centre of the imperial city. Weng writes:

> 新宿からこちら、大久保、東中野とお上品な文化住宅區域を出外れて、大東京の土俵ぎはを想はせる中野から此の處まで來ると、一足飛びに全然異つた雰圍氣に捲き込まれる。第一街の構造からして皆悉違ふ。路幅が狹く、歩道といふものがなく、人と車と小競合ひをしながら歩かねばならぬ。此の街の體裁は此處からずつと西の方、阿佐ヶ谷、荻窪、西荻窪、吉祥寺とまで續く。併しそれらの街々の落付いてゐて如合にも郊外住宅地といつた感じが濃いのに較べて、こゝ高圓寺は何とざわ〳〵して浪人風情の人士の多いことか。それもの筈、仕事たあぶれた人達は申し合はした様に此處に集り巢くふといふことだ。理由を質してみたら、新宿に近い街は生活程度が高く、西の方は新宿へ出るのに電車賃がかゝり、此處からだと新宿へは省線で十錢で行かれるからだといふのだ。Heading west after passing by the expensive high-standard living neighbourhood from Shinjuku, Ohkubo to Higashinakano, Nakano is totally a different place for this is already a suburban area of greater Tokyo. First, the construction of the streets is completely different from in Tokyo city. The lanes are quite narrow, and there is no pavement. When walking, pedestrians have to be careful of the automobiles passing by. Unlike the wealthy neighbourhoods of Asagaya, Ogikubo, Nishiogikubo and Kichijoji (located in the west of Nakano), Kōenji seems to be a noisy and lousy area, but still quite popular for the working-class as they cannot afford expensive housing near Shinjuku. Living in Kōenji, they only need to pay 10 yen for transport in order to arrive at Shinjuku. (ibid. 13) [my translation]

As Tokyo's population grew, the Tokyo council incorporated the Kōenji area into Greater Tokyo. The working-class and the poor immigrants who could not afford high rent and transport fares, inhabited this marginal area; the area near Kōenji had become a dwelling space for immigrants and a base for left-wing activities (Huang, "Tokyo Suburban Streets for the *Flâneur*" 182, 188). In the middle-class imagination, these marginal spaces of the city were often pathologised as epitomising the rot of civilisation within the imperial metropolis. However, many writers also inhabited these places and allied left-wing artists and activists and much of modern Japanese literature emerged from this area (Sugimori, "Weng Nao and His Literary Activities" 43-44; Liu 68). Socialist and feminist groups also gained ground in this area (Sugimori, "Weng Nao and His Literary Activities" 43-44).

For Taiwanese diasporic writers such as Weng, Tokyo was therefore a space of self-fashioning in order to become a bourgeois individual. The writing from this metropolitan space presents the living styles, multiple layers of different cultures, and the vicissitudes of the writers' imaginations as well as the dark side of industrialisation and modernisation (Maeda 151). Through Weng's writing, another Tokyo and an alternative version of Japanese Neosensualist writing is presented.

Japanese Neosensualism and Weng Nao's sensational Tokyo

Like the "other London" depicted by Selvon as a diasporic and modernist space, Weng's Tokyo is also created from a colonised and immigrant's point of view, and is ascribed a new status as the most Westernised modernist space in East Asia at the

time that inspired Japanese Neosensualism. Modernised Tokyo provided a platform for Weng to obtain the latest literary works from the West as Tokyo became a cultural capital in East Asia, receiving the newest Western cultural ideas and literary works. While living in Tokyo, Weng was also able to access original texts from English literature. He also translated William Butler Yeats and ten other poets' works[138] from English to Japanese, and his linguistic skills in both Japanese and English gave him access to the latest literary trends from Japan as well as in Western countries. He intended to be a writer who imported avant-garde ideas from European countries in order to see the world from his own eyes rather than from the interpretation of the coloniser. Weng's friend Chang Heng-hao therefore comments:

> 那時為了進出日本文壇,畢業後不肯返鄉,在東京苦修流浪的文藝人,翁鬧是典型人物之一…他所走的路線是純文藝新感學派,為藝術而藝術,日本文學一直以純文藝為主流,而且一九三四、三五前後數年是俄羅斯古典文學、法國文學昌盛的時代。…翁鬧的思想大受杜斯妥也夫斯基的影響,寫作技術則受日本純文學派之感化,不以故事情節的新奇號召人 ,概從日常生活的瑣事取材，… 翁鬧年輕而去世，否則大可佔有日本文壇的一席。Weng Nao was a typical "literary drifter," staying in Tokyo after graduation and not going home in order to remain in the Tokyo literary field. His literature followed Japanese Neosensualism, and in the belief of "Art for art's sake." During 1934-1935 Japanese literature was significantly influenced by classic Russian literature and French literature.

[138] Including Joseph Campbell, Richard Aldington, Padraic Calum, John Gloud Fletcher, Alfred Perceval Graves, Sarojini Naidu, Amy Lowell, Thomas Macdonagh, George W. Russell (A. E.). Except Richard Aldington from England, Amy Lowell and John Gloud Fletcher from the United States, and Sarojini Naidu from India, all writers were from Ireland.

> Weng himself was also influenced by the Russian thinker Dostoyevsky. His stories were taken from episodes occurring in daily life.[…] If he had not passed away at such a young age, he could have contributed significantly to Japanese literature.
> ("A Phantom" 14-5) [My translation]

However, it was generally believed that only Japanese modernist writers were able to understand, reproduce and re-introduce Western cultures to Japan and its East Asian colonies, and that Taiwanese writers only received previously digested information from the West. Weng, nevertheless, is an exception to this. Indeed, in order to be a writer, he had to be aware of the latest developments in the Japanese literary field and to be familiar with and conversant in the styles of Japanese authors in the Shōwa period, especially Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972) and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1889-1965), who were known as leading figures of contemporary Japanese literature (Li 143). According to Japanese scholar Sugimori Ai, Weng often attended literary seminars and exchanged ideas with Japanese authors ("Weng Nao and His Literary Activities" 40-50). Sugimori points out that Weng must have learned from Japanese writers Tanizaki and Kawabata and cites the fact that in *Streets with a Port*; for example, he mentions the "East Asian Hotel" (2) which was frequently used by Tanizaki as a symbolic monument to Japanese modernisation and Westernisation (Sugimori, "Introduction" to *Streets with a Port* 72). Further, Weng's model of the orphan protagonist in this text is believed to be influenced by Kawabata's[139] short

[139] The work of Kawabata is categorised as a second offshoot of the Neosensualist School—*Shin-shinrishugi* (New Psychology School), inspired by Freudian psychology and European writers like James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, T. S. Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, André Gide and Marcel Proust

fictions, such as "The Dancing Girl of Izu"[140] (1927), "Diary of My Sixteenth Year"[141] (1925) and "Orphan's Love"[142] (1925) (Sugimori, "Weng Nao and His Literary Activities" 78).

Indeed, in terms of style and some literary metaphors, Weng learnt a lot from Kawabata and Tanizaki. In "Musical Clock," for example, Weng demonstrates the influence of Kawabata's early writing. In terms of literary form, this piece follows Kawabata's "palm-of-the-hand stories" style of writing in his short story collection *The Dancing Girl of Izu*[143] (1927). Most of these stories are just two or three pages in length; in terms of content, they are inspired by the principles of aesthetic writing. Nevertheless, Weng also tries to create something new by following the principles in Japanese writing. The story reveals elements of hybridity and creates a space of multiple memories from both colonial Taiwan and Tokyo from the perspective of the colonised diasporic subject. This aspect is neglected in the works of Tokyo-based Japanese writers. Weng's story starts with a Taiwanese student who hears a familiar tune in Tokyo streets that he has heard before in colonial Taiwan. It is music from his grandparents' clock and he learnt the lyrics from his Japanese teacher in Taiwan. The

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but also drawing upon authentic Japanese literary aesthetics. Some of Kawabata's most popular works, such as *Snow Country* (1935, Eng trans 1956, 1996), *The Dancing Girl of Izu* (1926, Eng trans 1955, 1998), *Diary of My Sixteenth Year* (1925, Eng trans 1998*), The Sound of the Mountain* (1949, Eng trans 1970)*, Beauty and Sadness* (1964, Eng trans 1975)*, The Old Capital* (1962, Eng trans 1987, 2006) and *Thousand Cranes* (1949, Eng trans 1958) blend (Japanese) tradition with (European) modernity in their themes and modes of writing ("Kawabata as Modernist and Anti-Modernist" 152). Some of the traditional symbols of Japan, such as the geisha, tatami, sake, kimono, kendo, Noh and Shinto shrine are usually mixed with modern features, such as cafes, musicals, jazz, ballet and trams, and this has made Japan's experience of modernity not purely "Western".

[140] Known as『伊豆の踊子』in Japanese title.

[141] Known as『十六歳の日記』in Japanese title.

[142] Known as『孤児の感情』in Japanese title.

[143] The title of the corpus is the same as the short story "The Dancing Girl of Izu."

protagonist then recalls an unsuccessful sexual experience he had during his teenage years in his grandparents' house. When he was in his first year of secondary school, he was in love with a charming girl, who was his uncle's girlfriend. The three of them used to share a room in his grandparents' house, and during the night he dreamed of touching the girl's body. However, before he manages to touch the girl, the musical clock started to tell the time, signalling that the morning was coming. By the end of the story, the protagonist is back to the reality of Tokyo city—and is amazed that this city recalls this fantasy in his childhood memory.

Weng's experimental writings about sensual experience and fantasies owe much to Japanese modernist writing, called *Tanbi-ha*,[144] or the Aesthetic school, that follows the principles outlined below:

> At the core of our ideas was the principle of "l'art pour l'art," which was elaborated by Gautier and Flaubert. Exoticism was attached to this principle at its origin.[…] For us, European literature itself was the object of exoticism. […] We also loved *ukiyoe*, and the music and drama of the Edo period, not out of traditional, classical, or nationalistic interest, but because of our interest in exoticism. It was through our encounters with Goncourt, Monet and Degas that we came to appreciate *ukiyoe* (Suzuki quote Mokutarō's "Pan no kai to Okujō teien," 163).

In "A Love Story before Dawn" (1937), for example, Weng shows his ability to

[144] The Kanji is written as 耽美派.

master the experimental literary techniques of the early twentieth century, including stream-of-consciousness, symbolism and surrealist prose poems—techniques also used by Japanese writer Kawabata Yasunari in *Suishō gensō* (translated as *Crystal Fantasies* or *The Crystal Illusion*, 1931). As Weng's experimental writing techniques are not typical in any of other Taiwanese or Chinese literature, literary critic Ku Chi-t'ang[145] severely criticises this text as "a Westernised work but not one which is fully Westernised yet" and argues that it is "not Chinese literature at all" (108). The following passage is singled out by Ku as an example to criticise Weng. It expresses the narrator's inner desire to pursue love, which is linked with the scenes from his adolescent experiences in rural Taiwan:

> 或る日—ちう、十歳ぐらゐの時だつたと思ひます—田舎にあつた自家の庭で真紅な鳥冠を頭部に飾つた猛々しい一羽の牡鶏が急に片方の羽をひろげ蹴爪で庭の土を蹴立てたかと思ふと、同じ姿勢を保つたまゝ、じりノヽと、庭土をつゝいてゐた一羽の真つ白な温順しい牝鶏へ近づいてゆくのを見たのです。ぼくは見ようとして初めから見てゐたわけではありません。全く偶然にその光景がぼくの網模を刺戟したのです。しかしそんなことはどうでもよいのです。牡鶏は、どうだい俺の男振りはと云はんばかりに、じゆわりノヽと牝鶏の方へ擦り寄つていきます。[…]それから後の行為は話しますまい、又話すにも及びますまい。これだ！此の瞬間だ！One day—yes, I think it was probably when I was ten—I saw a cock with a bloody red comb in the yard of my childhood home. Suddenly, the cock spread one side of its wings, holding the mud with

[145] Known as 古繼堂. The transcription is according to the WG system.

> his claws in the yard. With the pose, he was approaching a white docile hen that was heading down. I was not intended to see this. It was because this scene caught my sight inadvertently. But it doesn't matter at all. This cock *was* showing off his masculinity, approaching the hen […] Then what has happened afterward, it is not necessary to say. Why say it, you knew that already. It's the moment! (Weng, "A Love Story before Dawn" 151-2) [My translation]

Ku comments as follows:

> 作品開始既不交代地點，也不交代人物。不僅時空和人物模糊，連那談話內容也十分奇怪。從雞與鵝的交配引申到人的戀愛，但卻只空空議論，久久不進入故事情節，直到作品結尾，說話人和聽話人的關係還不大清楚。…而我以為翁鬧天亮前的愛情故事從內容到形式都非中國貨。這是一種洋化而沒有洋化到家的產物。There is no specific location or character mentioned in the beginning of the work. Not only are the time and characters unknown, but the content of the conversation is also very strange. There is no further explanation in the passage regarding why the author uses the scenes of chickens and geese [sic] having sex as a metaphor for love, and it is a short story without a plot. Until the end of the novel, the relationship between the narrator and the audience is not clearly explained. […] I think Weng's "A Love Story before Dawn" is not Chinese literature at all from its content to its form. This is a Westernised work but not one which is totally Westernised yet. (108) [My translation]

Ku claims this work is not Chinese literature at all, and I would argue that this is not

only because it is written in Japanese, but also because it was inspired by Japanese/Western modernist writing techniques, and uses childhood memories from rural Taiwan as metaphors. It was also influenced by Kawabata's *Crystal Fantasies*, which was one of the most successful early experiments in Joycean stream-of-consciousness narrative in Japanese literature. The narrator's monologue in "A Love Story before Dawn" follows the quickness of the mind in recalling his childhood memories and his experiences of pursuing love during his teenage years. Like sudden flashes of lightning, the scenes in this text switch from the present to the past, to a dream and suddenly back to reality, which successfully creates a sense of transforming the real into surrealistic scenes. Like many Western modernist writings, the discontinuities within the narrative convey a sense of destabilisation and spatio-temporal discontinuity. The logic system of this work has been reconstructed through the fragmented and mosaic-like patches of time and space to present the discontinuity between the homeland of the author's imagination and diasporic displacement in Tokyo.

Besides Kawabata, another Japanese writer Tanizaki Jun'ichrō had an even more significant influence on Weng. For example, Tanizaki's *Naomi*,[146] first published in 1924 in Japan and translated into English by Anthony H. Chambers in 1985, is one of the most representative works of Neosensualism. It tells the story of how traditional values have been replaced by the modern tastes of urban lifestyles and how such a transformation changed Japan. This work is a distinctive example

[146] The Japanese title 痴人の愛（*Chijin no ai*）literally means "A Fool's Love".

that uses the transformation of the Japanese female body in appearance and its lifestyle as a metaphor to reflect a fetished attachment to the Western/Westernised female body in modern Japan. This significantly influenced how Weng portrays his Japanese female characters in his writings.

Naomi reflects how Japan's modernisation and Westernisation completely transformed people's self-awareness and social values. However, at the same time, such massive changes caused tension regarding society's views about whether it is best to follow trends or to maintain adherence to the traditional values of Old Japan. In his literature, Tanizaki's delicate descriptions of how the urban dwellers faced such confrontation by adapting, negotiating and compromising between new and old values provides us with a subtle perspective on the inner transformation of Japanese society.

Before *Naomi*, Tanizaki's early texts owed much to the work of Edgar Allen Poe, Charles Baudelaire and Oscar Wilde, who also influenced his personal life (Seidensticker, "Introduction" to *Some Prefer Nettles* 1). According to Edward G Seidensticker, in an era when Japanese society was fascinated with Western cultures, Tanizaki was described as one of the few Japanese writers who went to such extremes of "[indulging] in foreign tastes and living in the very heart of the foreign enclave" (ibid. 1). To dramatise the inner struggles which resulted from this cultural conflict, another of Tanizaki's works *Some Prefer Nettles* (1929, Eng trans. 1956) can be seen as the author's personal confessions taking the form of an autobiographical narrative. It tells the story of an unhappy marriage between two

people who are not interested each other sexually and who later grow to have different tastes. Kaname, the husband, becomes more and more strongly attracted to Osaka and to the Japanese past, but his wife, Misako, is drawn towards Western and foreign tastes and lifestyles. The narrative depicts the clash between the new and the old, the imported and the domestic, and such different values and cultural elements that have contradictorily coexisted in everyday life since the establishment of Meiji Japan. Besides, the cultural conflicts which appear in the main themes of Tanizaki's early works, and his allegorical narratives which focus on the female image are also among his greatest literary achievements. Tanizaki frequently sets his stories in the world of Edo,[147] which functions as a fantasy locale that offers an encounter with Western decadent exoticism (Suzuki 163).

Tanizaki's novels opened up a pathway between Japanese aesthetic traditions and modern values, and contributed to the transformation of urban life in modernised Japan. The experience of living in the big city is depicted in *Naomi*. For example, Tanizaki writes:

> I have a strange aversion to cafes. The reason is that they appear to be places for eating and drinking, whereas in reality eating and drinking are secondary to having a good time with women, and yet the women aren't always at your side to wait on you. Such a shady, ambiguous setup is distasteful to me. I'm not sure how cafes are now (in 1929), but that's what they were

[147] Edo is the old name for Tokyo, where the feudal Japanese military government the *Tokugawa shogunate* (1603-1868), known as the *Tokugawa bakufu* (徳川幕府) and the *Edo bakufu* (江戸幕府) was based. The Tokugawa period is also known as the pre-modern period of Japan.

> like when I knew them. A café was a place where you went to run after women, not to have a good time with them. I have no use for a mean, sordid, craven pastime like that…
> The few times that I've been taken to cafes, there was hardly anything to drink. If you order tea, the smell of rust clings to it; the brandy and whisky are usually diluted. I don't know why their customers put up with it (vii-viii).

The story is exemplary of the heyday of autobiographical confessions that combines with the exoticism of the West and the masochist adoration of the femme-fatale (Suzuki 160). It begins with the narrator Kawai Jōji describing himself as "having been an exemplary office worker: frugal, earnest, conventional to a fault, even colorless, doing the work everyday without the slightest complaint or discontent" (Tanizaki 5). Jōji confesses how his life, his sexual life in particular, was shaped by the exotic signifier of the West. His initial affection for Naomi is even not because of her appearance but because of her Western name. The name Naomi sounds Western to him, and her appearance seems to resemble the movie star Mary Pickford. Later, they start their dream life by moving into a cheap, imitation Western-style house, which has a fashionable name—"modern culture dwelling" [bunka jūtaku] (ibid. 20). Naomi then takes English, music and dance lessons with the financial support of Jōji in order to acquire refined and respectable "Western manners." She does this in the hope of transforming herself into a modern Westernised woman both physically and spiritually, Jōji similarly wants her to acquire the putatively necessary features of a "modern and fashionable" woman. However, things develop beyond Jōji's control as

Naomi's "indispensable" modern and fashionable female features eventually grow into a kind of "coarse beauty" (Suzuki 161). In the end, Naomi and Jōji finally move into a "real" Western house with a beautiful bedroom and a dining room on a street in Yokohama where Westerners also live. Jōji is then called "George" by Naomi and her Western boyfriends.

In Tanizaki's other writings, such as "Jōtarō" (1914),[148] "Dokutan" (1915),[149] "Ningyo no nageki" (1917),[150] "Honmoku yawa" (1922),[151] "Ave Maria" (1923) and *Nikukai* (1923),[152] the worship of the West and its women is a prominent motif (Suzuki 164). Later, in *Naomi*, this motif is taken to the extreme. Jōji's background and lifestyle, including his attraction to modern and fashionable trends, reflect what contemporary urban life was like in 1920s Tokyo (ibid.166). Jōji is presented as an exemplary middle-class urban salaried man who enjoys going to see Western films and hanging out in cafes where he first meets Naomi. The image of Naomi, as a model of the liberated modern girl, attracted many young boys and girls in the first half of the twentieth century in Japan because she violates the social conventions and traditional values of old Japan (ibid.166). The novel not only reflects the new socio-cultural reality of unconditionally accepting Western values in Japanese society but it also presents the collective fantasy of the Japanese in the early 1920s

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[148] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎. "饒太郎" ["Jōtarō"]. 1914. *潤一郎ラビリンスII：マゾヒズム小説集* [*Jun'ichirō rabirinsu II: mazohizumu shōsetsushū*]. Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1998. 7-151.

[149] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎. "Dokutan" ["A German Spy"]. 1915. *谷崎潤一郎全集* [*Tanizaki Jun'ichirō zenshū*]. Vols. 30. Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1981-3. 243-4.

[150] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎. "人魚の嘆き" ["Grief of a Mermaid"] 1917. *谷崎潤一郎全集* [*Tanizaki Jun'ichirō zenshū*]. Vols. 4. Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1981-3. 185-212.

[151] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎. "本牧夜話" ["Honmoku Night Tales"] .1922. Play.

[152] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎. "肉塊" ["A Lump of Flesh"]. 1923. *谷崎潤一郎全集* [*Tanizaki Jun'ichirō zenshū*]. Vols. 30. Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1981-3. 66-7.

who wished to become "equal" to Western men/women both physically and spiritually (ibid.166-7). Naomi's Western-style makeup is presented not as that of a true Westerner but as a symbol of Western influence. Ironically, this "terrifying whiteness" does not dispel Jōji's fantasy, but triggers an even more intense "yearning" and "adoration" in which he "could only kneel and offer worship" (Tanizaki 267-8, 210). Jōji's affection for Naomi therefore reflects the desire of the Japanese to be Westernised in the early twentieth century. This became a fetishistic project in the sense of (mis)taking such racial make-up and cultural (re)inventions for reality (See also Suzuki 173).

Like his Japanese literary role model, Tanizaki, Weng also wrote about the allure of sexuality and the fetish for such "Western/Westernised" female bodies in his famous works such as "Remaining Snow" (1935) and "A Love Story before Dawn" (1937). In Weng's works, the Japanese female body is projected onto the (feminised) coloniser as well as the "mock" Western female body. In "Remaining Snow," for example, the female character Kimiko is from the "snow country," in the remote, northern Japanese town of Hokkaido. The male protagonist, Lin Ch'un-shen, is from Taiwan and tends to display his masculinity to this young Japanese girl in order to imagine himself living a lifestyle of a privileged subject in Tokyo. In the story, Lin dreams that the young Japanese girl Kimiko has become the goddess of Scandinavian myth and that he is chasing her and worshipping her. In reality, however, he does not dare to express his love to her because he knows that it is impossible for him to have a Japanese girl as a girlfriend or a wife. Therefore, in

Lin's dream, no matter how fast he runs, he can never catch up with his goddess Kimiko (Weng, "Remaining Snow" 58).

This desire to have sensual contact with a "whitened" Japanese woman is also portrayed in Weng's later text "A Love Story before Dawn." In the work, Weng uses the fragments of the protagonist's memory of watching chickens and butterflies mating as a metaphor to imply what happens between the male protagonist and an unnamed Japanese girl.[153] The two main characters in the novel —an unnamed male narrator from a southern country and an unnamed Japanese girl (probably a prostitute or a geisha) from a northern country,[154] remain vague images in the novel as they are simply metaphors for the narrator's essential self. The narrator's inner existence, so to speak, becomes an extended metaphor of a dreamlike and poetic self, expressing his particular anxieties with regards to modernity. The monologue of the narrator and the vague image of the Japanese woman reflect the author's inner anxieties and desire for sensual experience with Japanese woman. However, the unnamed and silent Japanese woman in the novel also reveals another issue about women's social burdens and oppressed status in modern Tokyo. Like Tanizaki's *Naomi*, there is only the confession of the male protagonist in the story. From the following passage, we can see that in this work the female character is not only without a name but also without a voice:

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[153] The girl could be a prostitute as by the end of the story, Weng writes "you must have heard the same topic from hundreds of men" ("A Love Story before Dawn" 137).

[154] A similar character has appeared in another of Weng's works "Remaining Snow," and this may have been adapted from Kawabata's Komako, the rural geisha in *Snow Country*.

> あゝ、ぼくはあなにを抱きたに！此の兩の腕で力の限り抱きしめたい！いゝえ、ぼくにはその勇氣がありません。あゝ、いけません！いけません！その帽子を取つてください。[…] おや、あなた、泣いてるんですか。どうしたんですか。いつたいどうしたんです？泣かないで下さい。どうかぼくの氣を輕くする為めと思つて、泣かないで下さい。あなたに泣かれるとこの次ぎまたあなたをお訪ねするのにぼくの心が重くなります。足が鈍ります。[…] 夜が明けます。ぼくは急がなければなりません。どうぞそこの戸口まで送つて下さい。すみません。善良なあなた！どうか一眼ぼくにあなたの笑顔を見せて下さい。ありがたう。それでぼくも安心して歸れます。左樣なら！左樣なら！Ah, I want to embrace you tightly with my two arms! But no, I can't. I don't have courage to do so. Ah, no, no! Please hand me the hat. […] Why? You crying? Why are you crying? What's the matter? Please don't cry. For me, please don't cry. If you cry, next time when I come, my heart will be heavy and my feet will become dull. […] Dawn is about to break. I have to go. Please bid me goodbye at the door. I'm sorry. You are so kind! Please let me see your smile. Thanks. This makes me much relieved to leave. Goodbye. Goodbye. ("A Love Story before Dawn" 169) [My translation]

The female character in this work is an unnamed Other as the short story mainly takes the form of a monologue relating the narrator's own childhood memories and love story. The unnamed female character is mainly a silent listener without a voice. However, her existence is a necessity for the male protagonist as he is eager to have a "Japanese" woman to listen to his stories in order to feel that he can "conquer" the feminised Japan as a young man from the southern island colony. As Varma suggests,

female characters in modernist writing are usually accompanied by a corresponding discourse of commerce that attempted to create equivalence between commodities and sexually exchangeable women (Varma 46). The figure of the Japanese woman here is also transformed into a stereotypical image of "the sensual geisha girl" or "the devoted woman" (without a voice). Traise Yamamoto points out that the Japanese woman has long been configured as "mysterious and sexually available" for contact with men—especially for white Western men, as the Japanese woman has long been fetishised as a feminised exotic object in whom the soul of the geisha resides (Yamamoto 22). It has also been long mistakenly suggested that "geisha" is synonymous with "prostitute" (ibid. 29), as they both offer "services" that are exchangeable for money. I would argue Weng's representation of Japanese female characters also reflects his adaption of the racial stereotypes of the unrestrained sexuality and lasciviousness of the Oriental Other inherited from European colonial discourse. Nevertheless, the way that Weng genders Japan as female is even more complicated, since his affection for Japanese women also engages with Japanese colonial discourse. In this work, Weng seems to unconsciously elevate the bodies of Japanese women to a metonymic representation of Japan. The image of the Japanese female characters in Weng's texts in a way combines with the concept of the feminised Coloniser/Japan. Therefore, their images are always "white" and "pure" as snow even though most of them are prostitutes or sex workers.

However, the text resembles Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners*, where through an assertion of the masculinity of the Caribbean "boys" over female characters in the

text, black British male characters' resistance toward the inequality in the British society is portrayed. Here, the Japanese female also become a doubly-oppressed character in Weng's work. The purpose here is to silence and objectify Japanese women, which can be seen as a form of resistance to the colonial patriarchal values constructed in European Modernism and the Japanese Neosensualist School. However, the essence of such resistance has not yet been liberated from gender inequality, which has simply switched from colonial-male-centred patriarchy to Taiwanese-male-centered patriarchy system.

The relationship between the two characters in "A Love Story before Dawn" is left ambiguous and Weng never makes it clear whether this is just a dream—a dream that the protagonist from the southern island (or even the author himself) could never have experienced in real life. We can see that the desire to pursue Japanese girls as the metaphor intensifies from "Remaining Snow" to "A Love Story before Dawn." What Weng's works reflect are not merely the protagonists' fetishisation of Japanese women, but also their deepest desires to "whiten" themselves by having an affair with a Westernised Japanese girl. This therefore suggests the ambiguous relationship between European imperialism, Japanese imperialism and the colonies of the Japanese Empire.

Japanocentrism emerged in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, and it is seen as a non-European response to Eurocentrism or European imperialism. As Leo Ching argues, the ambivalence of Japanocentrism firstly variegates the complexity of linking the revolution of Japan with the revival of Asia,

and secondly it also constitutes a critique of European imperialism ("Taiwan in Modernity/Coloniality" 198-9). By transforming itself in these tumultuous times, Japan has gained a unique role poised between East and West (Fukuzawa 1885; Okakura 1903) but on the other hand again this has constructed another hierarchical systems of nations within Asia (Ching, "Taiwan in Modernity/Coloniality" 200). However, this fails to challenge the European worldview of mapping the world in terms of race and development (ibid. 200). Instead, Japan became involved in "the ubiquitous West," and the archipelago therefore became a stage for Japan in its new role as the largest marine empire in East Asia (ibid. 200-203). As Ching puts it in his famous essay "Yellow Skin, White Mask: Race, Class and Identification in Japanese Colonial Discourse," Western imperial and colonial discourse is framed and firmly inscribed in the familiar duality of West and non-West, "white" and "non-white," self and other, but interestingly Japanese's transformation of modernity had allowed her to become an Asian superpower before the Second World War (66). Ching therefore calls the Japanese Empire a "made-up"[155] colonial power, which demands a mode of analysis that is not restricted to the kinds of binerisms (centred on skin colour and race) that inflect European colonial discourse (ibid. 66). Due to its Westernisation and modernisation, Japan, as the only non-white/non-European imperial power which emerged from Asia, created a different kind of colonial theatre (See Figure 1). What makes Japan an even more distinguished colonial power, as Ching points out, is its imperial sovereignty and the fact that its colonies are

[155] Chin's usage specifically involves the context of cosmetics, i.e. "make-up".

populated with peoples not entirely different from Japanese citizens in skin colour, which is a prominent topic in European postcolonial discourses (ibid. 66). It is Japan's controversial historical positionality in between the margins of "white" and "black," coloniser and colonised; the status of the Japanese Empire—not white, not like and yet-alike always successfully and invariably redirects its arrogant colonial gaze towards its colonial subjects from the perspective of European imperialism (ibid. 66-7). However, the articulation of racism still took place in Japanese colonial discourse (ibid. 66-7). In fact, the colonised people of the Japanese Empire were also forced to accept the idea that the "whiteness" and "Westernisation" of Japan, for a period of time at least, allowed Japanese citizens to be granted the status of "honorary whites" or "honorary Westerners"[156] and to join the ranks of its fellow European colonial regimes (ibid. 72). Nevertheless, it was rarely recognised that resistance to Japanese colonialism can consequently connect to the idea of resisting European colonialism.

It seems to be impossible to criticise European imperialism without a critique of Japan's imperialism as the critique of Japan's "whiteness" entails the radical critique of the issue of racism in the West. Through the use of proper "make-up," the Japanese race can (re)cover its yellowness to whiteness under Western racialist classification (ibid. 75). In Taguchi's (1990) view, yellowness contextualises Asia as one monolithic ethnicity, as this context has long been constructed within the assumption of the Chinese race as the most superior "yellow" race, and only when

[156] See Shih *The Lure of the Modern*, page 13.

Japan decontextualises itself as a "mock white" race, can it be distinguished from other "yellow" races in Asia. The Japanese coloniser therefore projected yellowness as an inherent inferiority which is evident in the backward-looking Chinese society, and indicated that modern Japan should identify itself with the white race rather than the yellow race.

In Weng's works, for example, he seems to have detached himself from his Chinese ancestral bloodline as he might have been convinced by the Japanese coloniser that Chineseness is synonymous with backwardness. The Chinese critic Ku, mentioned earlier in this chapter, criticises Weng's writing for this reason. However, Weng Nao's strategy of resisting Japanese colonialism was to show that his literary achievements were equal to those of his Japanese role models. In addition, he attempted to represent the diasporic Taiwanese literary identity in order to distinguish himself from other Japanese Neosensualist writers of the early twentieth century. His resistance is actually directed toward Japanocentrism as well as toward Eurocentrism. He chose to write in Japanese and spoke to his Japanese audience directly rather than foregrounding his putative connection to his ancestral homeland or writing in Chinese, as if claiming Chineseness is a means of resistance. This also distinguished him from writers such as Lai He and Chung Li-he, who opted to write in Chinese during Japanese colonial rule, and from Liu Na'ou, who "returned" to his "ancestral" homeland—China.[157] Postcolonial Taiwanese identity, as Weng

[157] Shih in the chapter "Gender, Race, and Semicolonialism: Liu Na'ou's Urban Shanghai Landscape" points out that Liu's descendents claim that he was "purely ethnic Chinese" though some scholars suspect that he had Japanese blood (*The Lure* 276).

illustrated in his works, is never a "return"—either geographically or "literally"—to the pre-colonial Chinese nationalist ideology. Weng was never a nostalgic man, but rather, a man who kept moving forward. As a rebellious writer, Weng chose the most difficult way to resist, and believed that only when his works could compete with those by the best Japanese writers, could he be really free from the domination of Japanese colonialism.

Conclusion

In the 1930s, aspiring Taiwanese authors headed for Tokyo, a city which not only provided them with a more liberated space for publishing their works, but which also granted them access to Western cultures and modernity. Two main categories of Taiwanese modernist writing—Marxist Proletarian literature and Neosensualist literature—were mainly developed in Tokyo. Taiwanese diasporic writer Weng is categorised as belonging to the latter literary movement, which was inspired by the pure aesthetics in Japanese modernist writing and which challenged the traditional values of Taiwanese literature. His cutting-edge writing skills were in fact far ahead of other Taiwanese writers of his time. Through its subtle exploration of the desire to pursue sensual pleasure, Weng's literature deploys the multiple complexities of a fetishisation of the Japanese female body. As discussed in Chapter 3, in order to gain equality with white male European writers, black male writers such as Selvon often objectify the female body in their literature in order to construct their masculinity and subjectivity in the imperial metropolis. Similarly, Weng's works also project his

imaginary "conquest" of Japanese women by depicting sensual experiences between Taiwanese men and Japanese women, who are usually hybrid Euro-Asian creatures, blending aspects of whiteness and of "authentic" Japan. However, unlike the gender relations between Creole men and white women or Creole female characters in Selvon's novels, the Japanese female characters in Weng's works are doubly constructed as "imagined" or "mock" white women as well as obedient Oriental women who ambiguously represent both the coloniser and the oppressed Oriental woman. This, therefore, makes Weng's narratives distinct from the predominant discourses in the power relations between the colonised man and the colonising woman.[158] Through projecting his inner desire of becoming a subject in Japan's capital, the male protagonists in his works are in fact figurations of himself, an urban bohemian, a sensational aesthete and a Japanocised male writer. His literature is frequently misinterpreted by Taiwanese Marxist writers/critics as embodying an extreme frivolity and describing the empty pleasures of modern life in Tokyo, as well as controversial subjects such as eroticism, death and corruption. Nevertheless, his writings in fact reveals a strong resistance to the patriarchal and colonial values of both Japanocentrism and Eurocentricism. Building on the modernist themes discussed in this part of the thsis, the next section (Part III) will explore Selvon's and Weng's experiments with language as another aspect of their response to modernism.

[158] Here I refer her to Japanese women as members of the "colonizing Japanese culture.

Part III

Postcolonial Cultural/Literary Translation

Chapter V:

Selvon's Linguistic Representations of Diasporic Caribbean Identity in Literature

It is not language, but people who make revolutions.

-- Edward Kamau Brathwaite, History of the Voice.

"What wrong with it? Galahad ask. "Is English we speaking."

-- Sam Selvon, The Lonely Londoners.

The issue of language use in representing cultural/literary identity in diasporic literature

Having been widely analysed as a geographical phenomenon and a theoretical concept,[159] diasporas have also become a critical site of exploration and debate within postcolonial discourse recently that offers a perspective for understanding cultural interchange and dynamic forces of hybridisation in articulating colonial and postcolonial identities (Mullaney 7). For those communities shaped by histories of migration and dispersion between locations, from moving within continents to crossing the sea, the term "diaspora" continues to provide a key site of identification, a compelling font of memory and imaginary aspects of cultural routes and "homelands" (Cohen, 2008; Mullaney, 2010). Diasporic literatures as (culturally- or

[159] The editors of *Comparing Postcolonial Diasporas* state in the introduction that the term "diaspora" is now increasingly widely used to indicate an excessive amount of global movements and migrations of various kinds (Keown et al. 1). It can refer to the diasporic experiences of Romanian, African, Asian, Irish, Lebanese, Palestinian or "Atlantic" peoples (ibid. 1). Therefore, within the last decade the term "diaspora" has "become a 'diasporic' concept within postcolonial studies" that is no longer exclusive to the dispersal of the Jews (ibid. 1).

linguistically-) translated texts, produce many shared discourses within the associated translational/transcultural fabric. This involves the processes of negotiation, adaption of existing terms and codes, as well as introducing new ideas from different contexts. In this sense, the writing of diasporic literature is not a uni-directional activity, as it consists of continuous dialogues between places and cultures (See also Gentzler "Translation without Borders"). Therefore, postcolonial diasporic writing can also be perceived as an act of travelling and negotiation of borderlines between the colonial and postcolonial worlds.

As pointed out in the introduction of *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice* (1999), the necessary element for a postcolonial writer is the inevitable hybridity of translingual, translocational translation in writing (12) since those writers may be physically "borne across the world" (Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* 17) and thus the practice of "writing across worlds"[160] seems to become their destiny due to their (physically or culturally) hybrid identity. The struggle and pain of exile, however, can provide fuel for extraordinary creativity and a means of presenting the world from more than one perspective (Bassnett "Travelling through Translation" 9). In this sense, the writing of diasporic literature parallels the work of the translator (ibid. 9).

The formation of diasporic identity, like the practice of translation, which has been used extensively as a metaphor for intercultural or international border-crossing, can therefore be understood as a "movement from a starting point towards a

[160] Here I am also referring to the title of a collection of interviews by diaspora literary authors.

destination, and a process of transformation, an act of remembering a source and a textual journey, from one context into another" (ibid. 8). Indeed, in this globalised world a majority of the population are "international" citizens now, and through extensive travel, transcultural writing is a constituent part of the crucial fabric of modern culture. Echoing Homi Bhabha, Étienne Balibar also reinforces the inevitability of living across borders in today's modern world and suggests that a topology of routes and borders is needed to articulate what we mean by "circulation and communication, migration and travel, mobility and residency, displacement and settlement" in a world of restless in-movement (215).

In order to explore this notion of living across cultures and locations which is reflected in postcolonial diasporic writing, this chapter examines the linguistic practices of Sam Selvon and investigates how the language used by diasporic writers represents a significant area of aesthetic innovation in the development of postcolonial literature. Focusing on Selvon's literary strategies, this chapter also cites his interviews to understand how he represents his diasporic Trinidadian identity through writing in English and the reasons behind this. Then I explore some examples of his non-standard use of English in his London texts in order to illustrate how he modifies the English language to show his hybridity as a diasporic Caribbean (Trinidadian) writer.

Debates regarding language use in postcolonial literature

In postcolonial societies, there are a range of ongoing debates regarding the use of

imperial language for writing. When choosing to write in English, which was once the language of colonisation, postcolonial (diasporic) writers have been accused by some of betrayal or adherence to colonial values (Achebe, *Morning Yet on Creation Day* 62). Gayatri Spivak raises doubts about the possibility of the subaltern to "speak" as in "be heard" by the dominant culture or class, and her arguments resonate in some ways with Edward Said's Foucaldian analysis of the Oriental other as a subject of the dominant discourse, being constructed and known by the West which holds the power/knowledge. Although concurring with the idea that the coloniser imposes a dominant discursive representation of the colonised subject, Homi Bhabha observes that there is a space for the subaltern or the native to speak—in a reformed, mimicking voice which can subvert colonial discourse—and the colonised subject can therefore find a space for speaking and resisting. Therefore, Bhabha's ideas on hybridity and the ambivalent or subversive use of English, though it is a painful mark of the expansion of colonial culture, is often considered "the most common and effective form of subversive opposition" (Ashcroft et al., *The Postcolonial Studies* 11). As Ashcroft et al. also point out, appealing to essentialist notions of cultural identity is doomed to failure as the nature of human experience is usually heterogeneous and hybrid (*The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* 261). Many postcolonial writers thus claim that English can be used as a cultural vehicle to introduce diverse features of postcolonial cultures or diasporic societies (ibid. 277). English, when used as a literary language, is often used for practical reasons. For example, although he is not a diasporic writer, Nigerian author Chinua Achebe

defends his use of the English language and explains that it is a painful decision, but one which he takes for the purpose of effective communication in the multicultural communities across the African continent, or even just within Nigeria, as it enables those who speak other African languages to read his work, given the status of English as a lingua franca ("The Politics of Language" 268-71). For Achebe, writing in his native language, Igbo, would limit his audience. In Achebe's novel *No Longer at Ease* (1960), the main character, Obi Okonkwo, reflects on the political implications of choosing to use English:

> It was humiliating to have to speak to one's countryman in a foreign language, especially in the presence of the proud owners of that language. They would naturally assume that one had no language of one's own (49).

However, it should be noted that there are approximately 150 indigenous languages in Nigeria, and English acts as the common language for many Nigerians (Talib 91). On similar grounds, English is used as a lingua franca in many (post)colonial societies.

The idea of English as a lingua franca for communication can also be applied to the context of diasporic writing. One of the earliest diasporic writers, Olauda Equiano, who was also an Igbo, wrote in English without any other choices as Igbo was not a written language at that time and had no audience at all in England (ibid. 74). Similarly, Indian diasporic writer Salman Rushdie also implies that English is a

language that brings different diasporic communities together. In *The Moor's Last Sigh* (1995) the character Aurora Zogoiby states:

> [T]he language of her kingdom was English and nothing but. All these different lingos cut us off from one another, she explained. "Only English brings us together." (179)

English has long been burdened with the negative aspects of being "colonial" in anti-colonial criticism, but more recently there are some reverse opinions regarding the use of the English language, which has been increasingly claimed as a national language outside of its "mother land." Some critics have even started to change the capital "E" to "e" for the purpose of defining their own varieties of English. Jamaican poet and critic Edward Kamau Brathwaite, for example, argues that "English" could be considered as the Caribbean national language since "English" in the Caribbean is not standard British English but has been transformed into a language that has already been adjusted to local cultural milieux. This is why many scholars now use "englishes" rather than "English" to describe varieties which diverge from the standard defined by the (former) Empire. Brathwaite says of Caribbean English:

> It may be [English] in terms of some of its lexical features. But in its contours, its rhythm and timbre, its sound explosions, it is not English, even though the words, as you hear them, might be English to a greater or lesser degree. And this brings us back to

> the question that some of you raised yesterday: can English be a revolutionary language? And the lovely answer that came back was: *it is not English that is the agent. It is not language, but people, who make revolutions* (13).

The process of language adaptation establishes a medium which keeps challenging the notion of a standard language and at the same time promotes the use of "marginal" varieties of a language before a particular hybrid language can be used widely in a society or a community. As Ashcroft et al. explain, what Brathwaite calls a "nation language" in the Caribbean context, is never an attempt to recover lost origins, but a process of language adaptation that demonstrates the vigorous success of linguistic variation in one of the world's most dynamic linguistic communities (*The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* 261). One of the dynamic components of Caribbean literature is thus its use of language, which takes advantage of an English colonial heritage and creating different voices with Caribbean accents and rhythms in literature.

Doubling, hybridity and resistance

If the rise and fall of colonialism has brought us to live in an increasingly frontierless world, in which the borderlines are no longer as clear as they were before, contemporary (post)colonial diasporic literature can be seen as the artistic production of the colonial legacies that represent an experience of living in a world where the boundary of cultures cannot be easily identified. Writing across worlds can afford

more flexibility and more freedom, transcending the disciplinary regimes of the nation-state.

Homi Bhabha explains his theory regarding the negotiation of narratives of "double lives" led in the postcolonial world, with its migrant journeys and its diasporic dwellings. In the Anglophone postcolonial literary world, for example, literature is no longer only nourished by a single cultural tradition, nor can it be claimed that there is only one "authentic" kind of literary nationalism. Such boundary crossings have moved beyond what the academic disciplines have defined as "national" literature into a more diversified sense of literature in the Anglophone world. In addition, it seems purposeless to identify who writes about authentic "original" cultures and who does not as it is no longer possible to identify what is "exotic" and what is "at-home." Loredana Polezzi therefore suggests that communication between traditions becomes the major task of our time; intellectuals then play the significant role of interpreters of "the art of civilized conversation" (346). Starting from Bhabha's idea of "culture as translation" (1994), Polezzi proposes that migrants have become both the objects and agents of translation (347). Migration, in her view, can be considered from the perspective of translation—which not only engages with the people who travel, but also texts (ibid. 347). Once we consider the mobility of people as well as that of texts, the linear notion of translation as something that happens to an original as it moves across national, cultural and linguistic boundaries becomes attenuated (ibid. 348).

Rather than identifying strictly with some ancestral place, diasporic identity is

usually recreated and reconstructed through travelling itself (Ashcroft et al., *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* 425). As the diasporic subject travels, so do culture and language. A travelling language refers to a language that changes, adapts, develops and transforms itself in response to various influences from the different cultures it encounters. Thus, just as diasporic individuals might experience a change in their cultures and languages, so too are the cultures and languages of the destination changed in turn.

Before such transformations were accepted by dominant voices in literary analysis, there was some antagonism regarding the use of Creole languages and themes by Caribbean diasporic writers as forms of resistance against Bloomsbury aesthetics[161] (Wyndham 63). Offering a positive view of 1950s Caribbean writing, it is argued that fresh examples of "fine writing" can be found in these new writings (Wyndham 63; Low 71). Such comments on the positive potential of immigrant "postcolonial" literature resonate with Bhabha's theories on the transformative potential of postcolonial writers in metropolitan settings. Although his theories have been criticised by the Marxist materialists (such as Benita Parry, E. San Juan Jr and Aijaz Ahmad) as representing a "decontextualisation of migration," Bhabha's ideas

[161] The Bloomsbury group refers to a circle of middle-class artists, writers and intellectuals in the Bloomsbury area of London, including Virginia and Leonard Woolf, Clive and Vanessa Bell, Lytton Strachey, E. M. Forster, Roger Fry, Desmond MacCarthy, Duncan Grant and John Maynard Keynes (Upchurch 204). Emerging in 1905, the group met every Thursday to discuss and debate ideas covering issues of pacifism, feminism, creativity, freedom of expression and reason, which can be traced across twentieth-century art and thought (ibid. 204). For example, Fry introduced Post-Impressionism to the English-speaking world and set the stage for the development of modernism in British and American art (ibid. 205). Virginia Woolf's novels such as *Mrs Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse* revolutionalised the form and content of the genre (ibid. 205). Based on human behavour and the establishment of global organisations, Keynes contributed new economic theories (ibid. 205). Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*, on the other hand, revolutionalised biography (ibid. 205).

indeed can provide us with an alternative lens through which to understand the cultural politics of the hybrid language in Anglophone Caribbean texts. A more Anglocentric and conservative reading, on the other hand, might suggest that the forms and narration in these works are likely to be located in the colonial margins of old Empires, which implies that the colonialists might be uncomfortable when the postcolonial writers write back to the imperial centres in various versions of "englishes." In so doing, postcolonial diasporic writing has the potential to establish new norms of English that pose "threats" to standard Bloomsbury aesthetics. The threat sometimes can be even more overwhelming when postcolonial writers write "an alternative text" located in the (former) imperial centre in Creolised English rather than writing about their pre-colonial cultures in their own native languages, since establishing new norms of English, as Bhabha contends, can destabilise the power of the English book and make a monolithic exertion of colonial control impossible.

The politics of language use in postcolonial writing are often quite complex due to writers' conscious decisions to use non-standard forms and code-switching between different languages and registers. Disagreeing with Bloomsbury aesthetics, Brathwaite (1984) argues that the "standard" or "norm" really depends on what perspective you take. In *History of the Voice*, he points out that there are various ways of using the (English) language which differ from the "norm" that people use in England and in the Caribbean (13). Echoing Brathwaite, Barbadian novelist, George Lamming, describes the English language in his novels as "a West Indian language"

(*The Pleasure of Exile* 44). Similarly, Trinidadian-born author Naipaul says that the "English language was mine" (*The Overcrowded Barracoon and Other Articles* 26). Guyanese poet David Dabydeen also uses a variation of Guyanese Creole English in the collections of his poems, such as *Slave Songs* (1984) and *Coolie Odyssey* (1988). As Dennis Walder points out, for Dabydeen, it is "the language of his childhood" and contains the "rhythms and accents" of Guyanese cultural identity (44). It is an interesting question of how postcolonial diasporic writers deal with the so-called "standard" and the "non-standard" languages which these authors use in order to explore their cultural identities in their literature.

The various versions of "English" used by postcolonial diasporic literary communities can be even more positive for cultural rather than practical reasons. For instance, the positive attitude towards certain non-standard usages of English is growing. Many literary works have been published and have then travelled back to the former colonial centres in the "transformed" hybrid languages. This illustrates that the routes of the formerly colonised now carry their cultures back to the centre.

The development of languages is a long process with considerable cultural and linguistic mixing, borrowing and reinventing of the meaning of words and symbols. Language development, like the diasporic experience, can be seen as a long process of travelling and becoming. When postcolonial writers write back to/in the former empires, it is a significant moment in the journey of the coloniser's language as it travels back to its centre, and now takes on a new identity developed from multiple diaspora routes and hybridities. The "standard" language of the former coloniser,

once carried across to different areas of their colonies, might have either come to a peaceful harmonic blending or a violent clash with one another. Interestingly, the coloniser's language seems to be "standardised" again variously according to the needs and adaption of each place. They could be considered standard in particular countries, but considered as non-standard in others.

Hybridity, as Bhabha tells us, is the "sign of the productivity of colonial power" ("Signs Taken for Wonders" 159). He asserts that "hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the discriminatory identity effects" (ibid. 159). In the context of colonialism, hybridity is the articulation of the ambivalent space where the rite of power is enacted on the site of desire, making its objects at once disciplinary and disseminatory—or, in Bhabha's metaphoric assertion, "a negative transparency" (ibid. 160). Robert Young demonstrates the notion of hybridity as "a disruption and forcing together of any unlike living things, grafting a vine or a rose on to a different root stock, making difference into sameness" ("The Cultural Politics of Hybridity" 158). Thus, hybridity contradictorily makes "the same no longer the same, the different no longer simply different" (ibid.158).

In the Caribbean literary context, writing in a creolised language or hybridised linguistic form serves as an alienating strategy of "mimicry," "repetition" or "doubling." Bhabha interprets this "doubling" as the repetition of the fixed presence of authoritative power that has been articulated with a wide range of differential knowledge brought from the otherness that "[estranges] its identity, and produce new forms of knowledge and new sites of power" (171). He contends:

> What we witness is neither an untroubled, innocent dream of England nor a "secondary revision" of the nightmare of India, Africa, the Caribbean. What is "English" in these discourses of colonial power cannot be represented as a plenitudinous presence; it is determined by its belatedness. As a signifier of authority, the English book acquires its meaning *after* the traumatic scenario of colonial difference, cultural or racial, returns the eye of power to some prior, archaic image or identity. Paradoxically, however, such an image can neither be "original"—by virtue of the act of repetition that constructs it – nor "identical"—by virtue of the difference that defines it (ibid. 153).

Bhabha advances this argument, indicating that this reverse power in linguistic representation can also be seen as resistance which hence leads to the process of decolonisation:

> Resistance is not necessarily an oppositional act of political intention, nor is it the simple negation or exclusion of the "content" of another culture, as a difference once perceived. It is the effect of an ambivalence produced within the rules of recognition of dominating discourses as they articulate the signs of cultural difference and reimplicate them within the deferential relations of colonial power—hierarchy, normalization, marginalization and so forth (ibid. 157-8).

Through literary production, these authors from colonial backgrounds produce these "alternative" Anglophone literatures either abroad or within diasporic communities

in Britain. They therefore play the dual roles of agent and translator and carry across "differences," "doubleness" and "hybridity" to the host country in an empowering act of resistance and writing back to the Empire.

Cultural translation and cultural identities

Works by Anglophone postcolonial writers who choose to write in English in the first place in a sense do not need to be translated. Yet, as Bassnett and Trivedi point out, these postcolonial writers have already translated themselves to fit into English-language contexts (12). In other words, in order to become English-language writers, they had to transform the visible linguistic signs and regional/local cultural contexts deliberately into the forms of "alternative" forms of the English language which borrow a lot from vernacular phrases, idioms or rhythms.

The concept of "Cultural Translation" first appeared in Bhabha's book *The Location of Culture* (1994), which is one of the foremost postcolonial theoretical texts of our time. The final chapter, entitled "How Newness Enters the World: Postmodern Space, Postcolonial Times and the Trials of Cultural Translation," offers a sophisticated and influential formulation which articulates the distinctly postmodernist idea of cultural translation in contemporary writing. That is to say, cultural translation occurs in texts which are written in English but with the new sense of carrying cultures "across" both critically and creatively. As Rushdie observes, "the word 'translation' comes, etymologically, from the Latin for 'bearing across', and having been borne across the world, we are translated men" (*Imaginary*

Homelands 17). Here, Rushdie uses the word "translated" to refer to himself and other postcolonial diasporic writers, and the term is now collocated in the phrase "cultural translation" which is associated with contemporary phenomena like migrancy, exile or diaspora.

Cultural translation, in contemporary literary and culture studies, thus often refers to the writing and presentation of other artistic productions that cross borderlines, both transnationally and transculturally. As literary texts began to be recognised as being constituted not just of language but also of culture, transcultural literary texts have now become the sites of complex negotiations between two (or more) cultures. This new connotation suggests that cultural translation does not refer to translation in its traditional sense of being target-culture oriented. Instead it refers to the ambivalence of dual/multiple cultural routes which are constructed during the process of negotiation. If we perceive cross-cultural writing from the view of cultural translation, it is a mutual communication rather than a "homogenisation" or "appropriation." It is, as Sandra Bermann points out with reference to Michael Cronin's views on translation in his *Translation and Globalization*[162] (2003) and *Translation and Identity* (2006), a way to "enhance our understanding of the particular source text, while negotiating with it" (18). In Cronin's view, translation can actually nurture diversity while looking beyond the local toward broader affiliations, and far-reaching solidarities. He says:

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[162] Cronin, Michael. *Translation and Globalization*. London: Routledge, 2003.

> One of the ways in which we connect with others from different languages and cultures is through translation, so commitment to appropriate, culturally sensitive models of translation would appear to be central to any concept of global citizenship in the twenty-first century (Cronin, *Translation and Identity* 30).

That is to say, through the process of cultural translation, the particulars of cultural otherness are allowed to appear—yet they also need to be negotiated by the host culture. Cronin sees cultural translation as similar to the various relations between human beings which involve complex ideological approaches, mentalities, languages and cultural contexts, and thus it is a mode of relation or connection (30).

Selvon's literary strategies in his London writings

Calypso,[163] *carnival and another London*

According to the BBC archival programme *Caribbean Voices*, the use of non-standard language and music in Caribbean literature is an avant-garde literary practice.[164] West Indian writers' works were given a platform by the BBC's "Caribbean Voices" programme, which introduced well-known critics and editors to the new generation of West Indian writers who brought "fresh and vital qualities" to postwar English literature (Marshall 348). In the case of Selvon's literature, calypso

[163] Calypso borrows from European musical traditions and perceptions which developed from the dances of stickbanks parading through Trinidad's towns during carnival, the masque satires and sartorial songs of canboulay and carnival, the *bel airs* or drum dances, and the *gayap* or work song (McLeod, *Postcolonial London* 31).

[164] Introduced by Colin Grant. BBC. 22 Jul. 2009. Radio.

is remarkable for the extent to which it offers an alternative way of narrating the migrant experience of Trinidadians in Britain as a hybrid experience. Stuart Hall also notes the significance of calypso for the work of Caribbean authors in the 1950s:

> [The calypsos of Lord Kitchener and others] became the first signature music of the whole West Indian communities. The calypso of the 1950s therefore must be "read" and heard alongside books like *[The] Lonely Londoners* by Sam Selvon as offering the most telling insights into the early days of the migrant experience ("The Calypso Kings" 11).

Echoing this, John McLeod remarks that the Caribbean calypso provides a means of representing "utopian visions of a hybridised and multicultural London" (*Postcolonial London* 26). He argues that for Selvon, calypso "embodie[s] the principle of creolisation in its combination of Anglophone and Francophone traditions with African influences" (ibid. 31). Through this hybridised presentation, Selvon thereby represents another London.

In the first chapter of *Postcolonial London* (2004), entitled "Making a Song and Dance," McLeod compares the work of Selvon and Colin MacInnes and their focus on the "sounds" and "music" of the written language in representing Caribbeanness in literature. He asserts:

> The utopian visions of a hybridized and multicultural London to be found in the fiction of Sam Selvon and Colin MacInnes [who] draw upon singing and dancing which were bringing

> old and new Londoners together in the 1950s influenced by Caribbean calypso, American pop, African music and jazz (McLeod, *Postcolonial London* 26).

To read Caribbean literature that is written within and about London as a kind of song and dance, according to McLeod, perceives the metropolis as a space which is transformed and negotiated by "the manipulative and citational acts of newcomers" of "Trinidad style" (ibid. 26). The power of Caribbean Creole language in literature is not only portrayed as a musical metaphor in its linguistic identity, but also as a "spatial creolisation" that constructs an imaginative diasporic space of immigrant communities in London. The sound and energetic forms of Selvon's and MacInnes's written language reflect the experiences of Caribbean people in London. McLeod notes that:

> Sam Selvon's short fiction and especially his novel *The Lonely Londoners* (1956) turn frequently to calypso for the resources which influence a vision of London as something other than the terrifying experience of objectification, economic hardship, racism and loneliness. Colin MacInnes, on the other hand, in his novels *City of Spades* (1957) and *Absolute Beginners* (1959), offers visions of an inclusive, cosmopolitan London built upon the emergent popular cultural activities of the city's African and Caribbean newcomers in the setting of enthusiastic music halls (ibid. 27).

As the passage quoted above, McLeod explains that the origin of calypso draws upon

a number of different sources that have made it a hybrid element of Trinidadian culture. When reading the literary productions of West Indian authors, it is impossible to ignore the influence of calypso as it is a creative form of music, sound and rhyme in Caribbean folk culture. John Cowley also argues that calypso in nineteenth-century Trinidad represents "part compromise and part defiance" (235).

Calypsonian writing contains poetic features such as rhyme and regular metrical patterns. Trinidadian Creole writing is especially significant as its linguistic development is highly dependent upon its oral tradition (Talib 73). In such a society, the written forms of the language develop new literary genres, such as long poetic narratives (ibid. 73). By using poetic devices, the lines of the long narrative can be remembered more easily (ibid. 73). These long lines of narrative, which are similar to the features of the poetry and music in the narrative poem, are usually meant to be sung; thus, the various details of the story can be kept in mind (ibid. 73). Such patterns are evident in *The Lonely Londoners*, for example, from page 101 to 110, in the way Selvon uses a long lyrical passage of narration without a single punctuation mark in order to outline the episodes of the story, thereby mixing features of Caribbean oral tradition with the modernist stream-of-consciousness mode of experimental writing. Through the use of Caribbean languages and oral traditions, Caribbean identity is thus also shaped within literature.

Writing the stories of West Indian migration in a Caribbean tenor, Selvon's style is significantly influenced by calypso—particularly in his London texts.[165] As

[165] In Selvon's *Moses Ascending* and *Moses Migrating,* parody and masquerade are omnipresent,

Susheila Nasta observes, Selvon's work exhibits an anecdotal and farcical sensibility, especially in its formal representation—"its burlesque satirical mode, its subversive irony" (*Home Truths* 78-9). Nasta comments that Selvon's London texts are presented as versions of a jaunty calypso—the music of a minority who travel to metropolitan London in search of a better life and are determined to survive and prosper (ibid. 11). Selvon's narrative style in the novels draws upon the favourite themes of calypso, which include satirical social, political, racial or sexual commentaries (Buzelin 71). The featured characters of West Indian migrants, metropolitan settings and the use of Creole language are usually developed through humorous, stereotyping and exaggerating anecdotes (ibid. 71). The episodic structure, the anecdotal and comical tone, and the "colourful" characters who are known by their nicknames are the elements that are typically used by calypsonian artists to express their concerns and interests for social commentary, political issues, sex and economic problems (ibid. 71).

Apart from the rhythm and rhyme used by Selvon as linguistic devices in his novels, the episode when Tanty dances to the calypso song "Fan me Saga Boy Fan Me" in *The Lonely Londoners* is an example of the way in which Selvon even visualises calypso music by linking it to the Creole female body, which can also suggest its link to the *mother*land (see Chapter III). Selvon incorporates calypso in the work to reflect the distinctive culture of Trinidad. Nevertheless, in his other work

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while *The Lonely Londoners* has been described as a "West Indian Carnival Seminal text" (Buzelin 71).

The Housing Lark (1965), he suggests that it is not usually easy for English people to identify the differences between Trinidadian culture and those of other Caribbean islands like Jamaica.[166] For Selvon, calypso represents the creative culture of Trinidadian folk, since it is the (Trinidadian) people's "most popular and evocative means of expression" ("Three into One Can't Go" 222). He uses it to distinguish the identity of his Trinidadian characters from those of other black diasporic communities in London. As Buzelin affirms, calypso originating in Trinidad remains a major element of Trinidadian folk culture (71). It is therefore an element that undoubtedly shaped Selvon's aesthetics in his works (ibid. 71).

Creole representationalist strategies in Selvon's London writing

As has been widely discussed, the narratorial voice used in Selvon's work is indebted to Trinidadian Creole English (Nasta 1988; Wyke 1991; Buzelin 2002; McLeod 2004). Reflecting Brathwaite's perspective on "alternative" English languages, Selvon portrays the diversity of diasporic "englishes" in *The Lonely Londoners*. The creolised englishes used by his Caribbean "boys" in the novel are an outcome of the travelling of the English language, which was brought by the colonial officials from Britain to the Caribbean islands like Trinidad and mixed with local dialects and transformed into a new creolised form of "English." These "boys" carry the new forms of "English" with them when they travel to London and introduce their englishes to the former colonial centre. They were not previously aware of the

[166] See example in Chapter 1, p.p. 52.

ideosyncrasies but are annoyed when they are told that their "English" is not easy to understand. As Brathwaite points out, the English used by Caribbean people is actually different from the English used in England (13), and it very likely that it is "the process of traveling" that makes their language usage different.

In linguistic terms, pidgins and creoles contributed to the development and extension of World English. Evolving from pidgins, creole languages become the first language or mother tongue of a group of people, and the vocabulary is richer than in a pidgin (Talib 124). The possession of a Creole language as a native tongue or first language occurs within many Caribbean islands, and can therefore be used to represent their cultural specificities and hybrid identities. The ongoing process of negotiation between Creole and Standard English is invaluable for Caribbean creative writers. The coexistence of the two codes (Creole and Standard English) can provide new scope for readers to attune themselves to a hybrid cultural habitus in contemporary literary writing that is no longer affiliated to a fixed site of culture.

In her essay "Language Use and West Indian Literary Criticism," Merle Hodge identifies three different linguistic strategies used by West Indian writers, exemplified by Naipaul, Selvon and Jamaica Kincaid. She argues:

> V. S. Naipaul, for example, employs Creole in narration only for the voice of a first-person narrator, which allows him to keep an ironic distance from that voice and persona. […] He clearly had no desire to be seen in the same light as his Creole-speaking characters. Writers like Selvon and Lovelace display no such reservation about being recognized as Creole speakers; in their

> work one finds omniscient narrators who speak either in Creole, or in the fluid voice of the educated West Indian who continually switches between SE (Standard English) and Creole. […] Jamaica Kincaid does not favour the use of Creole in either narration or dialogue; but this writer's apparent distancing of self from the vernacular is not to be interpreted as race or class prejudice as in early West Indian fiction (Hodge 477).

In constituting the identities of his West Indian characters, Selvon uses Caribbean hybrid linguistic structures to convey the features of a particular race, colour or class, pointing towards certain modes of existence and methods of survival. In an interview he explains that while writing the stories of Caribbeans in London, he found it difficult to write in "Standard English." He states:

> I realized that the book I wanted to write was *The Lonely Londoners*. I don't know what shape it would take. I wrote maybe three or four paragraphs, […] I was going to write it in Standard English, with the characters speaking in Creole. But for some reason I would write a page or two, then I would scrap it, and think about it again. Somehow it seemed that the creation which I had in mind was not working out at all in Standard English. I said to myself: "Look, why not just write the whole book using this Caribbean language?" (Selvon, "The Open Society or Its Enemies?" 60)

Here, Selvon argues that trying to use Standard English hampered his creativity, and this might be the reason why he found it difficult to apply it to the narration of the conversations and humorous episodes which happen to each character. The

"Caribbean language" that is the focus of this chapter is Selvon's literary language, which is based on Trinidadian Creole English. When writing the novel, he was aware of the differences between Trinidadian Creole and Jamaican Creole, which have derivations from African languages. As Selvon asserts in an interview, the narrative voice and the modified spoken language of the characters in *The Lonely Londoners* were "fabricated" mainly from spoken language in Trinidad:

> I did not pick the Jamaican way of talking in London. I only tried to produce what I believed was thought of as a Caribbean dialect. The modified version in which I write my dialect may be a manner of extending the language. It may be called artificial or fabricated. The way I treat the language is not the way it is spoken in Jamaica, or Barbados, or Trinidad either, for that matter. I only resorted to a modified Trinidadian dialect because, much more than Jamaican or Barbadian English, it is close to "correct" Standard English, and I thought it would be more recognizable to the [sic] European reader […] I only modified it so people outside the Caribbean would be able to identify it (Selvon, "Samuel Selvon: Interviews and Conversations" 67).

Unlike Nasta and Birbalsingh who focus their questions in their interviews with Selvon on his literary contribution to opening up the diversity of Anglophone postcolonial languages, Talib is more interested in Selvon's linguistic "adjustment" to appeal to an Anglophone audience. Talib reminds us that Creole can be difficult to understand if the audience has no background in Caribbean English, and this could

be contradictory to the aims of the authors regarding their desire to address a wider readership when choosing to write in English. Therefore, Talib tries to convince us that although he uses Creole in his writing, Selvon does not use "full-blown" Creole, but a "modified" language which is more comprehensible to non- (Trinidadian) Creole speakers ("Style, Language(s), Politics and Acceptability" 126). It is true that the audience for the work will be reduced if the author chooses to write in a regional Creole in that it might be difficult to convey the story to people from other parts of the world who do not comprehend the creolised English. Thus, Talib gives us an example of an extract from an interview with Selvon in order to assert that the activity of modifying language indeed happens consciously during the process of postcolonial writing:

> I didn't use d-e for t-h-e; I feel t-h-e is fine with me. When I open a book, I look at a sentence, I look at the writing of it, and I say that's ok if the rhythm of the dialect is still there. I feel that writing in phonetics jars the reader. I've heard many people say that reading different dialects with phonetic spelling is a bit irritating, having to analyze it all in your mind (Selvon, cited in Jussawalla and Dasenbrock 105).

Selvon uses a modified "Trinidadian English" for the narrative voice as well as the language of the characters since he finds it difficult to write in Standard English. Nevertheless, in order to ensure that his audience can understand him, he skilfully creates a more neutral tone for the narrative voice such that it also presents the

creolised identities of his characters throughout the whole novel. On the other hand, in giving the narrative point of view to one of the most vivid characters in the novel, Henry Oliver (nicknamed Galahad), his technique in using a modified Creole language seems to make the conversations sound humorous and foreign compared to the canonical English novels. For example in *The Lonely Londoners* he writes:

> "You not feeling cold, old man?" Moses say, eyeing the specimen with amazement, for he himself have on long wool underwear and a heavy fireman coat that he pick up in Portobello Road.
>
> "No," Henry say, looking surprise. "This is the way the weather does be in the winter? It not so bad, man. In fact I feeling a little warm." (13)

Instead of using Standard English grammar, as in, "you're not feeling cold," or "I'm feeling a little warm," Selvon uses creolised grammar ("you not feeling cold" and "I feeling a little warm") to introduce the characters Moses and Henry in their first meeting at Waterloo Station. Also, he uses "does be" instead of "is" in the second passage. Usually, the deletion of the auxiliary verb in progressive "ing" verbal constructions does not inhibit comprehension of the meaning of the sentence (Talib 139). Therefore, international readers do not need to have proficiency in Trinidadian Creole, and the text still preserves a sense of Creole and a difference from the standard use of English.

Another example of Selvon's literary Creole can be seen in the fact that he

always replaces object pronouns (i.e. “us,” “her”) with subject pronouns (i.e. “we,” “she”). Instead of writing “You send for her?”, he writes “You send for she?” (*The Lonely Londoners* 5). Also, he writes, “You can’t see this gentleman from the newspapers come to meet we by the station?” (ibid. 11) and “both of we is Trinidadians” (ibid. 17). By using the subject pronoun “we” for Trinidadians, one could argue that Selvon might consciously be trying to convey the idea that Trinidadians or the Caribbean “boys” should be recognised as British subjects. The following passage makes this clear:

> “Listen, I will give you the name of a place. It call Ipswich. There it have a restaurant run by a Pole call the Rendezvous Restaurant. Go there and see if they will serve you. And you know the hurtful part of it? The Pole who have that restaurant, he ain’t have no more right in this country than ***we***. In fact, ***we*** is British subjects and he is the only foreigner, we have more right than any people from the damn continent to live and work in this country, and enjoy what this country have, because is ***we*** who bleed to make this country prosperous.” (ibid. 21) [My emphasis]

In contrast to his use of the subject pronoun to assert a sense of belonging for his Caribbean Londoners, Selvon uses the object pronoun “them” to refer to British people in cases where he tries to show his resistance to racial inequality within the British society. He writes:

> “Lord, what it is we people do in this world that we have to suffer

> so? What it is we want that the white people and ***them*** find it so hard to give? A little work, a little food, a little place to sleep. We not asking for the sun, or the moon. We only want to get by, we don't even want to get on." (ibid. 77) [My emphasis]

Selvon's intention to write in creolised English and follow the flow of conversational Trinidadian English in the novel clearly flouts the grammatical rules of Standard English outlined in texts, such as the *Oxford Guide to World English* published by Oxford University Press. Selvon implies that his version of "Trinidadian English" might mistakenly be understood as "improper" English as well as "improper" Trinidadian Creole, but in fact he consciously displays his resistance to the normativised and standard use of English language by the "British subjects" while still trying to meet the needs of an international readership.

However, as Talib reminds us, not every Caribbean writer "translates" Caribbean contexts as the same way as Selvon does. For example, Derek Walcott chose to avoid using Creole in his plays as he believed that his work might not be understood in other areas of the Caribbean (Talib 126). Talib also points out that literary representation is greatly influenced or constrained by the audience reception (ibid. 126). Fledgling writers may have to confront issues of negotiating between individual writing style, cultural identity and acceptability in a metropolitan city like London when starting their writing career in the Anglophone world, as there might not be a large enough readership for their work otherwise.

However, Selvon also reveals that he writes in a more standardised English in

some sections of the novel, such as the passage at the end when he describes the London landscape ("The Open Society or Its Enemies?" 60): Note the following example, which mixes his literary version of Creole with a more standardised form of English:

> The old Moses, standing on the banks of the Thames. Sometimes he think he see some sort of profound realisation in his life, …as if now he could draw apart from any hustling and just sit down and watch other people fight to live (Selvon, *The Lonely Londoners* 138).

Echoing the opening passage about living in a lonely London, which is permeated by ambiguitous fog and a sense of unreality, Selvon's language takes his readers into the world of a group of Caribbeans whose experience was all but unknown to white British and Western readers in the 1950s. Selvon uses Standard English in the very beginning and the very end of the novel, and mixes it with a significant amount of modified Trinidadian Creole English in the main body of the novel. He does this in order to make his work more accessible to Europeans but still to convey a strong sense of Trinidadian identity.

However, his literary language was not widely accepted initially. According to Selvon, he faced antagonism for some time and was attacked in his home country by people who believed his works might make foreigners think that people in Trinidad do not know how to speak "proper" English ("The Open Society or Its Enemies?" 63). It was not until years later in the 1990s that his literary language was finally

recognised and highly praised (ibid. 62-3). This was important to Selvon as he started to self-identify as a writer who was also "a person from the Caribbean" (ibid. 60). The appreciation of his literary and linguistic achievements shows that (Western or English) readers came to accept his background, culture, language and the place he came from (ibid. 60).

Selvon's linguistic representation of Diasporic Caribbean (Trinidadian) identity is now widely recognised as a successful literary achievement. The language of his London texts is like a journey from Trinidadian linguistic/cultural identity to a modified and metropolitan identity, and his linguistic innovations, as Procter observes, "offer a dialogue or site of negotiation between Caribbean and metropolitan landscapes" (*Dwelling Places* 48). Selvon's diasporic literary language, which enacts a literary and linguistic journey from the vernacular West Indian language to the modified metropolitan language, in fact not only successfully foregrounds his own cultural background as a migrant author from the Caribbean, but has also introduced this background to a wide international (English) readership around the world. This process, echoing what I discuss throughout the previous chapters, is a crucial element in the coherent construction and recording of diasporic identity.

Following the discussion of Selvon's usage of Creole English, the next chapter of this thesis will shed light on the significance of Taiwanese cultural identity in Japanophone literature and the cost of the prohibition of Japanophone literature in post-war Taiwan in the name of "decolonisation."

Chapter VI:

A Second Translation:

On Cultural Translation in Weng Nao's Literature

Introduction: Taiwan's colonial memory in Japanophone literature

Colonial education successfully solidified the status of the Japanese language in every aspect of life in Taiwan, and having better (Japanese) language skills could therefore secure Taiwanese citizens better career prospects. In the late years of Japanese colonial rule, literacy in the Japanese language was high in Taiwan due to the high percentage of attendance at the colonial public schools on the island (Matsunaga 332). In the 1930s, the first generation of young Taiwanese who had completed a full compulsory colonial education were well-equipped to express their thoughts in the Japanese language[167] (ibid. 332). The prevalence of Japanophone writing on the island was also accelerated by the 1937 colonial law that all printed publications should be written in Japanese, and this produced an entire generation of Taiwanese authors who read and wrote in the Japanese language (Fujii 49). In 1944, the last year of Japanese colonial rule, 71.17 % of Chinese descendants (Hakka and Minnan people) and 83.38% of indigenous children attended the Japanese public schools[168] (Matsunaga 332).

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[167] The Japanese colonial compulsory education system was initiated in 1896 (Chen, *A History of Modern Taiwanese Literature I* 46).

[168] Matsunaga used the statistics from *Essentials of Ruling in Taiwan*, edited by Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan, 1973. (台湾総督府編『台湾統治概要』。復刻版は、原書房、1973年6月。)

As Fujii observes, prior to the institutionalisation of the Japanese language, there was limited communication between different ethnic groups on the island since there was no communal language—80 percent of islanders spoke Minnanyu and Hakkayu was spoken by 15 percent, while each indigenous community on the island had their own tribal language;[169] only 10 percent of middle-class islanders were literate in classical Chinese[170] (186). However, the high percentage of students from various backgrounds attending public schools made Japanese a practical language for all the islanders so that those of Hakka, Minnan and indigenous backgrounds could communicate more efficiently (Fujii 45-9). From 1920, Japanese became the common language of several different ethnic groups, and up to 70 percent of Taiwanese could read and write in Japanese (ibid. 186). Japanese was used not only for daily communication, but also in (Japanophone) Taiwanese literature, which was accessible to a diverse range of peoples from Hakka, Minnan and indigenous communities (ibid. 186). Equipped with the ability to write in Japanese, Taiwanese authors could also seek broader opportunities to introduce their stories to other groups of people, not only on the island but also throughout the Japanese-speaking zone (Fujii 45-9).

For Taiwanese authors during the 1920s and 1930s, Japanese had become their major language for writing, and enabled direct and indirect contact with Japanese literature and Western literature (Tarumi 3-4; Kleeman 194-5). Taiwanese authors at

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[169] Indigenous Taiwanese are identified as belonging to the Malayo-Austronesian family (Bellwood 90-93; Blust 59; Rubinstein 85).

[170] A written form of Old Chinese, also known as 文言文.

the time flocked to Japan, and sought every possible opportunity to have contact with Japanese authors, publishers and readers in the hope of finding themselves a forum in the Japanophone literary field. There was a high percentage of Taiwanese literary works during the late Taishō period to the Shōwa period (1920-1946) written in Japanese (Matsunaga 332). For Taiwanese authors, to pursue a literary career in Tokyo was a possible path for them to have a wider readership among Japanophone communities in East Asia, but most importantly it was a more promising way to have their works published and to address the Taiwanese readership in order to offer a different voice from those imported from imperial Japan.[171] Through publishing, young Taiwanese intellectuals were eager to have their voices heard in the Japanophone world and some contributed to introducing the latest ideas and literary trends to Taiwan. Furthermore, many different types of anti-colonial literary, cultural and social associations were formed by Taiwanese diasporic communities. The Japanese language no longer only belonged exclusively to Japan; it had also become an important signature of diverse Taiwanese cultures. Though the power relationships between the coloniser and the colonised are by nature unequal, the emergence of Taiwanese diasporic literary works in Japan still provided an opportunity to reconceptualise Taiwan as more than simply the space of the colonised Other. Instead, Taiwanese authors were able to use their bilingual ability to

[171] Many anti-colonial societies and literary magazines were established in Tokyo in order to escape from the colonial laws on the island (Kawahara 129-32, 212). Literary magazines, such as *Taiwanese People's Newspaper*, were published in Tokyo and took a detour back to a Taiwanese audience (ibid. 212). Japan, for Taiwanese writers, ironically, offered more freedom for pursuing a literary career as their works did not have to be closely examined by the colonial authority on the island (ibid.124).

speak for themselves and to make aspects of Taiwanese cultures more accessible to Japanese readers.

However, in the immediate post-war years, when the Chinese Nationalist (Kuomintang, KMT) government took over the administration of Taiwan, the body of Taiwanese literature in Japanese was violently "torn off" from Taiwanese literary history in the name of "de-colonisation" (Marukawa 34-6). In October 1946, all of the newspapers, magazines and columns written in Japanese, no matter if they were political publications or not, were abolished by the Chinese Nationalist government led by Chang Kai-shek, to therefore "efficiently" control freedom of speech on the island within a year (ibid. 34). About 18,000 to 28,000 Taiwanese, mostly intellectuals, were killed or missing one year later in the 228 Incident[172] or during the ensuing years of oppression according to the official figures[173] (ibid. 35). After this period, the remaining Taiwanese intellectuals were forced to keep silent and Japanophone Taiwanese literature from the 1920s-40s was excised from Taiwanese literary history. The gap was soon filled by Chinese patriotic/nostalgic literature or anti-Marxist literature by authors from the Mainland (Fujii 35; Chang, "New Taiwanese Literary Movement in the 50s" 129-30). Therefore, it was not until more

[172] Also known as the 28 February incident. Between 1945 and 1947, the KMT government's inattention and corruption sparked the 228 incident (Rigger 15). The incident began with a private female street peddler being found selling contraband cigarettes by officers of the State Monopoly Bureau in Taipei City on 27th February 1947; when the officers attempted to arrest the woman, a crowd gathered and a male bystander was shot dead (Fleischauer 374; Smith 147). A series of protests against Chinese nationalism and police brutality came later after protesters were fired by police upon the next day, 28th February 1947 (ibid. 148). This also marked the beginning of the White Terror (1948-1987), and those believed to be in opposition to the Chinese Nationalist government or in sympathy with communists were imprisoned or executed during the decades after the 228 incident (ibid. 153).

[173] Republic of China (Taiwan). Executive Yuan. *Report on 228 Incident*. Taipei: Executive Yuan, 1992.

recently when the 38-year period of martial law was called to an end on the island that the younger Taiwanese generation learned of Taiwanese literature in Japanese. After a forty-year delay, a collection of Taiwanese literary writing in Japanese was finally reintroduced in Taiwan in 1991. Nevertheless, the unseen threat from the Chinese KMT government lingered as it was still the biggest political party on the island until the year 2000.[174] Only limited programmes of Taiwanese literature were offered in higher education systems in the period from the 1990s to 2005.[175] Unlike the dilemmas of writing in imperial or pre-colonial language that are widely discussed in postcolonial discourse, the case of Japanophone Taiwanese being translated "back" into Chinese, which is officially considered as a "pre-colonial" language seems to provide an exceptional and extreme example of "returning." Due to the Chinese Nationalist oppression, most of post-war generation can no longer read the literature of the previous generation in its original language. The majority of this generation now has to read the translated versions in order to re-discover the literary productions of this lost period in history.[176]

Although it has long been believed that the use of the coloniser's language is a reflection of the unequal power relations between coloniser and colonised, the issue

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[174] In 2000, the Taiwan-founded political party Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), an opposition party established on September 1986, won the presidential election in Taiwan (Rigger 1, 15). The leader of the party, Chen Shui-bien, was the first DPP leader elected as the president of Taiwan (ROC) (ibid. 1).

[175] In August 1997, the first Taiwanese Literature Department was set up at Altetheia University (真理大學), and the first graduate programme of Taiwanese literary studies was set up at National Cheng Kung University (成功大學) in 2000 (Wang 137). In 2002, Taiwanese Literature Department was established at the same university, and started to recruit undergraduate and PhD students (ibid. 138).

[176] In my email interview with Sugimori Ai conduceted on 17th Jun 2012. See Appendix II for correspondent details.

of preventing oppressed colonial subjects from passing on cultural memory to the next generation needs urgent critical attention, particularly in the case of Taiwanese literature. This chapter therefore explores the significance of Japanophone Taiwanese literature and discusses the limitations and the potential when reading/understanding Taiwanese colonial culture and hybridity in translations in Mandarin Chinese, which is widely believed to be the "pre-colonial" language. Weng's works are particularly worthy of scrutinising since his contributions to modernist literary representation are highly challenging for translators to "faithfully" render. The questions to be addressed here are: when "translating back" into Mandarin Chinese, is it really possible to reflect "authentic" Taiwanese culture or is it another kind of brutality that enacts a form of Chinese "nationalism" in the postcolonial years?

Weng Nao's cultural translation strategy

It is undeniable that Japanese colonial rule forced the Taiwanese to give up their native languages and to use Japanese as their major language for communication and writing, yet the complete prohibition of other local languages except Japanese in printed publications began in the year of 1937, some forty years after colonial rule started, and aspects of the native languages (or vernaculars) in Taiwan had already been integrated into the Japanese language after decades of hybrid and bilingual exchange.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Sussan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi argue that when postcolonial writers choose to write in an imperial language, the

process of writing inevitably involves the act of translation (12), which is now more commonly known as "cultural translation." In the context of Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan, the traffic between languages (the local "vernaculars" and the imperial language Japanese) is an important aspect of this process. In order to write in Japanese, Taiwanese writers at the time had to be bilingual in order to survive as literary authors. This ability to write between the colonial native languages and the imperial language, as Bassnett and Trivedi contend, is the first step toward becoming a postcolonial writer (12). Though Bassnett and Trivedi refer to Anglophone writers in their book, this argument also applies to the Taiwanese context. To a certain extent, this transition in the use of literary language reflects the unequal power relationship which defines the condition of the coloniser and the colonised (ibid. 12). Although this relationship is unequal in the first place, the emergence of Taiwanese diasporic literary works in Japan provides a possibility to rethink the notions of Taiwan from the perspectives of Taiwanese authors instead of remaining silent and being interpreted by the Japanese coloniser. Through writing in Japanese, Taiwanese authors could speak for themselves and to reversely introduce Taiwanese culture to Japanese readers. To write in Japanese was in fact a very powerful weapon for writers of colonial Taiwan to resist colonial authority at the time.

On 7th June 1936, at a conference entitled *Taiwanese Literature and the Problems It Faces* held by the Literary Association, Tokyo branch, there was a vibrant discussion on the issue of hybridity in Japanophone Taiwanese literature. Regarding the issue of "translating" Taiwanese cultural contexts into Japanese

literature, Weng did not agree with the way that Chinese translators from the mainland translated Chinese texts into Japanese because they used simpler phrases which reflect the fact that their linguistic skills were poor (Ch'en, "Issues in Taiwanese Literature" 226). Weng argued that it is a different case in Japanophone Taiwanese literature as Japanese was the first language of the island, and Taiwanese writers had the ability to switch between the two cultural codes and even experiment radically with language usage rather than following the non-first-language users' strategy (ibid. 226). Weng's writing strategy, as he claimed at the conference, still follows the norms in Japanese literary language in principle in order to allow the Japanese audience to be able to read his works as they might not be familiar with the specific usage of Taiwanese vernaculars (ibid. 225). Modifying his written language to make it read more like Japanese literature is important because it allowed him to gain access to the Japanese metropolitan literary field rather than being labelled stereotypically as an author from colonial Taiwan.

Weng's writing style owes much to both Western modernism and Japanese Neosensualism. As I discuss in Chapter 4, imperial Japan underwent processes of modernisation and Westernisation, so in order to gain a better understanding of imperial Japan, one must inevitably begin by examining cultural exports from European colonialism as they were Japan's literary ideal and also rivals to be competed with (Ching, "Colonizing Taiwan" 17). Like his Japanese literary role models Kawabata Yasunari and Tanizaki jun'ichirō, who drew heavily on Western cultures and literatures, Weng's English-Japanese translation of his collection of

poems *Modern English Poems*[177] (1935), shows not only his mastery of the Japanese language, but also his familiarity with English/Irish literature.

Weng's text "Poor A-Jui" (1936) can be seen as one of his most successful acts cultural translation. Adapting a story related in Joseph Campbell's "The Old Woman,"[178] Weng rewrites this account in Japanese and resets it in rural Taiwan. "Poor A-Jui," similar to the poem "The Old Woman," tells the story of an old woman who is almost at the end of her days. She longs to reunite with her five children and their families, who have moved away like the newly grown-up swallows which have flown away from their nests. The story opens with a quotation from Joseph Campbell's poem "The Old Woman":

> 子等は去り
> 彼女の思ひ靜かなり
> 毀たれし水車の下の

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[177] *Modern English Poems*〈現代英詩抄〉is a collection of poems translated from ten English/Irish poets' works (English into Japanese), including Joseph Campbell, Richard Aldington, Padraic Calum, John Gould Fletcher, Alfred Perceval Graves, Sarojini Naidu, Amy Lowell, Thomas Macdonagh, William Butler Yeats and George W. Russell.

[178] The original text of the poem "The Old Woman" is below:

> As a white candle
> In a holy place,
> So is the beauty
> Of an aged face.
>
> As the spent radiance
> Of the winter sun,
> So is a woman
> With her travail done.
>
> Her brood gone from her,
> And her thoughts as still
> As the waters
> Under a ruined mill. (Nora Saunders and A. A. Kelly 63).

水に似て[179]
(Weng, "The Old Woman" 30) [Weng's translation]

The story of "Poor A-Jui" starts with a detailed description of A-Jui's dwelling place—an aged and small house in a bleak street. Although it is in a big city with a population of two thousand, her house is located dawn a small, quiet lane which is not easily accessible for automobiles. As A-Jui is an eighty-two-year-old woman, her children already have their own families and have moved out of her small house. The house she lives in was the last one inherited from her ancestors that has not yet been sold. The rest were sold because her sons needed the money. Her house is the smallest of these ancestral homes and she lives there alone. Suffering from loneliness, A-Jui's daily routine involves going to Chenghuang Temple[180] to pray for peace, but when night falls she only has the moon and the wind in her small dark room to talk to. There is a brothel near A-Jui's house, which the author suggests is where poor A-Jui spends her remaining days like a prostitute that is deserted by men and her children. Campbell uses the winter sun in his poem as a metaphor to suggest the little time remaining in the old woman's life, whilst Weng compares A-Jui to the scattered falling flower petals in the winter garden—no longer dazzling but returning to mother nature, the earth, the soil, in order to nurture the next generation. Her beauty is therefore like the metaphor Campbell uses to describe the beauty of the old woman—the warmth of the winter sun. By the end of the story, poor A-Jui passes

[179] The third stanza of the poem.

[180] Chenghuang Ye or City god (城隍爺) is a god who rules the underworld in Taiwanese Taoism.

away before the spring comes:

> 時といふものに取り残されたそれらの裏町がやがて亡びなければならない様に、其處に住む人達もやがて亡びなければならないのであらう。亡びないまでも、かうして呪はれなければならないのであらう。[…] 彼女の生命の焔がいまにも吹いてくるかも知れない一寸した風にも消えさうなことは明らかだつた。[…] それから間もなく秋が過ぎ冬が去つて、春が訪れたこそに、たうとうルイ婆さんは此の世を去つたのである。Like the deserted lanes that will disappear at any time, those people who live there will also die soon. Even if they are not dying, they are still cursed. The light of her life will be blown away at any time […] Fall goes by, then so does winter. But A-Jui cannot wait until the coming of spring.
> ("Poor A-Jui" 18-9) [My translation]

By the end of Campbell's poem, the old woman's children are compared to the water under the ruined mill, as they will never return to her. In "Poor A-Jui," the protagonist's four sons and daughters-in-law are finally back at her side at the funeral. Campbell's poem, through Weng's cultural translation, is transformed into a story full of Taiwanese cultural elements but the aesthetic essence of the poem has been preserved. For example, in the first stanza[181] of Campbell's "The Old Woman," the white candle in a "holy place" has been "translated" by Weng Nao in the story "Poor A-Jui" as religious censers in the prayer room. Though "Poor A-Jui" is written in

[181] As a white candle
In a holy place,
So is the beauty
Of an aged face. (Noral Saunders and A. A. Kelly 63).

Japanese, the whole piece is, in a way, very "Taiwanese." The story mentions that A-Jui's house is divided into three rooms, which is the layout of a traditional Taiwanese house[182]—a prayer room, a kitchen and a bedroom. In the prayer room, a deity is enshrined as well as countless remains of incense sticks[183] in the censer pots, which are the marks of A-Jui having lived a life of devotion by worshipping the gods and the ancestors. Weng's translation of English poems is therefore not just an English-Japanese linguistic translation but also a subtle adaption and transformation from English and Irish cultural contexts to a Japanese-Taiwanese cultural context. His literary techniques not only incorporate the modernist stream-of-consciousness technique discussed in Chapter 4, but they also display his accomplishments in multiple cultural contexts he adapts and crafts into a new piece of Taiwanese literature.

It has to be noted that although 70 percent of the Taiwanese population received colonial education at primary school level, the educational system was not the same as in mainland Japan (Matsunaga 332; Wu 371). The curriculum was adapted from those in the public schools on the mainland (Wu 371-4). In addition, Taiwanese students did not have the same opportunities for secondary education as Japanese students whose parents were colonial officers on the island (Kawahara 124; Takeshi

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[182] San-he-yuan (三合院), also known as a three-section compound, has a central building with two wings attached perpendicular to either side. The praying room is in the central building (which is also used as a reception room); the living room/bedrooms and the kitchen are in the two wings of the building.

[183] In the homes of Taiwanese Taoist families, the central building of the house is the prayer room, which typically contains an altar, a deity on the wall and censer pots. After worshipping, the incense sticks, as the medium used to pass messages to the gods and the spirits of ancestors, are inserted into the pot to finish the religious ceremony.

51; Wu 371). Therefore, those Taiwanese students who wanted to pursue higher education had to leave for Japan (Kawahara 124; Wu 371-4). It is very likely that those who wanted to be writers had to put in extra effort to keep their language skills up to the same standard as those of Japanese authors on the mainland. Among Taiwanese authors, Weng's mastery of Japanese and English is a possible reason why his literary skills were far ahead those of other Taiwanese authors of his generation. Weng's cultural translation in "Poor A-Jui" in particular, can be seen as one of the most successful works that introduced Taiwanese culture to the Japanese literary world. Furthermore, the richness and sophistication of his literature made him distinct from other Taiwanese authors who wrote during the first half of the twentieth century.

The issue of returning to "pre-colonial" language and the role of the translator

Since the end of Japanese colonial rule on the island, it has taken decades for Taiwanese writers like Weng to achieve recognition by literary critics. During the 1930s and 1940s Taiwanese writers were able to write their own stories and gain recognition, but the rapidly changing political conditions after the Second World War again forced them into silence (Matsunaga 332-3). In 1945 when the Japanese colonial authorities were forced to leave Taiwan due to their defeat, Taiwan's official language was changed to Mandarin Chinese overnight (ibid. 333). In 1946, within one year of the Chinese KMT government's takeover of the island, all publications in Japanese were prohibited (Fujii 293). For Taiwanese authors, this was like a

declaration of (literary) life imprisonment. Even for those writers who were proficient in Chinese, it was still an ordeal. Only a few of them, such as Wu Zhuoliu and Chung Chao-cheng, survived as the so-called "trans-linguistic" writers.[184] Matsunaga provides three examples of why it was so difficult for "trans-lingual" writers to write in Chinese. Firstly, Chung's experience of writing in Chinese was a long and difficult process—his strategy in the beginning was to first write in Japanese, and then to translate into Chinese; later, when his Chinese was improved, he tried to translate Japanese into Chinese in his mind, and wrote in Chinese[185] (Matsunaga quotes from Chung Chao-cheng 333). To achieve the last stage of thinking and writing in Chinese indeed required a lot of effort over a very long period of time (Matsunaga 333). Secondly, Wu's strategy was to write in Japanese, and when his works were ready to be published, he then translated them into Chinese (ibid. 333). According to Wu, he could express his emotions only when he wrote in Japanese; when writing in Chinese, his language became awkward and dull (ibid. 333). Wu's Chinese is widely considered to be better than that of his Taiwanese contemporaries, and even so, he still struggled to write in Chinese. It is therefore not difficult to envision why most Taiwanese writers gave up writing forever.

Moreover, Matsunaga provides a third response to these linguistic challenges

[184] The term was first used by Lin Heng-tai to refer to those writers who used to write in Japanese, but were forced to write in Chinese when the Chinese KMT government took over Taiwan island in 1945 (Kang 2006).

[185] Chung Chao-cheng. "On Taiwanese Literature—from the Perspective of Experience of Translation." (鍾肇政。「台湾文学について—『訳脳』の体験から」、『台湾文学研究会会報』10号、所収。)

from Japanophone Taiwanese poet Huang Lin-chih[186]:

> 一つの言葉を覚え、それをになすにはほとんど一世代を要する。私が中国語で小説を書くには、日本語で書く以上に、おそらくは十倍以上の労力を要し、そしてたぶん十分の一ほどの効果もあがってはいない。短い人生において、これだけの浪費をしなければならない理由がどこにあるのだろう……To learn a language and use it fluently in writing requires decades. If writing in Chinese takes ten times more energy as writing in Japanese and the result might have achieved one-tenth of that which I would achieve writing in Japanese, why should I waste my time and energy doing such a thing in my short life? (334) [My translation]

Another difficulty for Taiwanese authors to write in Mandarin Chinese is the fact that Mandarin is the dialect of Beijing,[187] which has a different grammatical system, vocabulary and intonation system from the languages in southern China, such as Hakkayu and Minnanyu (used mainly among Taiwan's Chinese descendants) (ibid. 334). Mandarin was nothing more than another foreign language for the Taiwanese people. Furthermore, after Japanese rule, Japanese became the first language on the island, and even the local languages and vernaculars had already been mixed with Japanese vocabulary and expressions. This evolved into a very unique system of hybrid language which parallels Taiwan's hybridised cultural identity. The sudden

[186] Known as 黃靈芝 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to the WG system.

[187] In the second year after the Republic of China was established (1912) in Mainland China, Mandarin was chosen to be the official language/pronunciation for Chinese (National Taiwan Normal University Mandarin Chinese Teaching Material Committee 38).

prohibition of Japanophone Taiwanese writing on the island was likely the main reasons for the massive problems in daily communication and mutual understanding between Taiwanese intellectuals and the Chinese ruling class (Fujii 35). Apart from that, critical attention on Japanophone Taiwanese literature from 1920 to 1945 was also limited during the years of martial law[188] (Liu, "Whose Literature? Whose History? 178). Given the time it took for Taiwanese authors to gain proficiency in writing in Mandarin Chinese, and the lack of literary attention paid to Japanophone Taiwanese literature, the period from the second half of the 1940s to the early 1960s was probably the darkest era of contemporary Taiwanese literary history (Liu 178; Fujii 30-5).

As noted earlier, it was not until 1991 that a large number of Japanophone Taiwanese literary works were approved to be translated into Mandarin Chinese, the official language of Taiwan since 1945. Translators therefore played a crucial role in re-introducing Taiwanese literature to Taiwanese readers from the post-war generation. Ironically, the majority of Taiwanese readers from the post-war generation have to read Taiwanese literature in translation, and the translators are those who decide how and what to re-write and to re-introduce to this readership. Charged with this responsibility, most translators aimed to do their best to be "faithful" to the original texts. However, the translated work is usually not as innocent as readers might think or as faithful as translators claim it to be. For elder Taiwanese translator, Chang Liang-tse, who has experienced both Japanese rule and

[188] 1949-1987.

Chinese Kuomintong's rule, says in an interview that the most difficult task for him when translating Japanophone Taiwanese literature was to "soften" their representations of Taiwanese cultural/national identities or admiration of Japanese modernity.[189] Chang tells us that some sections of the translations were deleted by the editors if they mentioned any positive aspects of the Japanese colonial government because this might have risked "offending" the new authority from China.[190] Under such oppression, the translator had to be very careful when tackling any sensitive lines in the original texts.

Chang also reveals in the interview that "some works were even (mis)used as anti-Japanese propaganda by the Chinese government, even though the authors' original intention was not so."[191] For Taiwanese writers and translators during this period, writing across different cultures was more complicated because they had to decide how to carry across *their* cultural identities under different political authorities. Some works survived or were re-born through translation, but some likely disappeared due to political interference.

Such a "return" bespeaks Taiwan's traumatic process of identity formation and reformation during the Japanese colonial and post-colonial Chinese KMT government's oppressive rule—one being the colonial regime and the other being the government from their long-imagined "homeland." An analysis of the traumatic process of identity formation and reformation is therefore highly valuable when

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[189] In my interview with Professor Chang. Letter to author on 16th Sep. 2011. See Appendix I for the correspondent content.
[190] ibid.
[191] ibid.

reading the literature from that time. For both "trans-linguistic writers" and translators at the time, it was never an easy task because they needed to be aware of the extent to which they could carry the culture across under two reppressive regimes while avoiding risks to their writing career and life. Therefore, when translating the cultural/historical context of Taiwanese diasporic literature, translators are burdened with the significant responsibility of carrying cultures and historical memories across and between the dynamics of different political powers.

Representing and interpreting Weng Nao

Since 1991, different translated versions of Weng's texts have offered various interpretations of his literature and contributed different possibilities for re-discovering Weng Nao. However, his work waited for half a century before being re-introduced to Taiwan. Some of his works were translated into Chinese in *Taiwanese Authors' Series* in 1991, but not all of them. Only a select few were chosen for the edition, namely, only "Musical Clock" (1935), "A Stubborn Old Man" (1935), "Remaining Snow" (1935), "Little Lohan" (1935), "Poor A-Jui" (1936) and "A Love Story before Dawn" (1937). Even so, Weng Nao stands out from other Taiwanese authors and is widely known for his unique literary aesthetics. In 1997, the translation of Weng Nao's essays and poems became part of the project *Chang-hua's Authors and Literature* (彰化作家作品集), funded by the Chang-hua Cultural Council (彰化文化中心). Thanks to Taiwanese scholars Ch'en Tsao-hsiang and Hsü Chün-ya, Weng's poems and essays were re-introduced to a Taiwanese

readership. Ten years later, the Chinese translation of Weng's last work *Streets with a Port* (1939) finally appeared and was introduced by Japanese scholar and translator Sugimori Ai in "Weng Nao: One Hundred Year Memorial Conference," held by the Chang-hua Cultural Council in 2007.[192] As Taiwanese scholar Xiang Yang[193] notes, Weng's works are widely read in Chinese translation rather than in the original Japanese; therefore, some of Weng's works which have been translated into Chinese are widely discussed whilst the non-translated works lack critical attention (274). In this regard, the role of translators in interpreting Taiwanese literature that was written during Japanese colonial rule is especially important.

Recent translation theory tends to view the translator as a writer, which grants the translator a more authoritative status in the art of literary production.[194] Nevertheless, when translating the cultural/historical context of Taiwanese diasporic literature published in Tokyo, translators are burdened with the heavy responsibility of transmitting cultural and historical memory while navigating the varying historico-political contexts of the Japanese colonial regime and the Chinese Nationalist government. Accordingly, the following section will investigate the different translation strategies of the translators and challenges that they faced during the process of negotiating between linguistic/cultural authorities while translating Weng's works. These include his poem "An Ode to the Bird" (1935), novella *Streets with a Port* (1939) and short story "A Stubborn Old Man" (1935). I will also discuss

[192] The conference papers were later published in *Weng Nao's World* in 2009.
[193] Professor Xiang uses (Hanyu) pinyin system for the spelling of his name.
[194] See Bassnett and Bush 2007.

what may have been gained or lost during these translation processes. Based on my dialogues with the translators of Weng Nao's literature— Sugimori Ai, who recently translated Weng Nao's *Streets with a Port* in 2009, and Chang Liang-tse, a representative member of the older generation of Japanese-Chinese translators, I will also explore how Japanophone Taiwanese literature have been reintroduced to post-colonial Taiwan in an attempt to illuminate the historical burdens faced by translators when interpreting literature from this specific period. The following section will analyse how Weng's literature has been represented and interpreted in Mandarin Chinese. In doing so, I will explore different facets of Weng's corpus and discuss how and why his works have been translated in divergent ways if each translator's interpretation is claimed to be "faithful" to the original.

In translating Weng's works, each translator has his/her own concerns and preferences regarding how to "bring back" the literary works. Sino-Taiwanese translator Xiang Yang, for example, translated Weng's poem "An Ode to the Bird" into archaic Chinese, which made the piece read like an ancient Chinese poem, whilst Japanese translator Sugimori translated Weng's *Streets with a Port* by maintaining some Japanese vocabulary in the translation. Still other Minnan-Taiwanese translators used hybrid Taiwanese vernaculars to demonstrate Taiwaneseness in Weng's works. In the following sections, I will go on to explore the potential and limitations of these three different strategies used to translate Weng's works and discuss the ideologies behind these methods.

Weng Nao of Chineseness

Amongst the translators of Weng's work, some chose to re-produce Weng's works using rhetorical and authentic Chinese writing in translation. The poem "An Ode to the Bird" is a good example of this practice.

In his poem "An Ode to the Bird," Weng uses a mixure of Kanji (Chinese characters) and Katakana[195] to create a sense of the antiquity of the Japanese language (Xiang 270). This kind of usage can be traced back to Japan's Heian period (*Heian jidai* [平安時代] 794-1192), and was mainly used by male authors, but is no longer used in contemporary written Japanese, which is mainly composed in Hiragana[196] and Kanji[197] (Xiang 270). Weng's poetic language has, in a way, shown his nostalgic affection toward old Japan, and also reinforced the idea of his preference for masculinist writing.[198] Showing familiarity with a foreign language (English) and Katakana, Weng's poetic language ingeniously presents the doubleness of the linguistic code—the old and the new, the nostalgic and the modern, the authentic and the imported.

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[195] Katakana (片仮名) is one of the three writing systems and one of the two phonetic systems in Japanese, which is only used for foreign (non-Chinese) loan words, foreign names, foreign places, onomatopoeia and words that depict psychological states or bodily feelings (Henshall 9-10). After Westernisation and modernisation, much Japanese vocabulary has been replaced by the foreign expressions and words imported, and often use katakana to convey a sense of fashion and modernity (Haarmann 123).

[196] Hiragana (平仮名) is one of the three writing systems and one of the two phonetic systems in Japanese; it is a Japanese syllabary, and is used for everything which is not written in katakana or kanji (Henshall 9).

[197] Kanji (漢字) was the system that adapted from Chinese characters, and can be traced back to 18th century China, introduced by Buddhist monks from Korea (Heisig 2, 4-5). In using adapted Chinese characters, Japanese also made their own contributions and changes to the usage (ibid. 2, 4-5).

[198] His detoured and deferred modernist writing has followed European and Japanese musculinist writing to construct the masculine identity of the author by objectifying female characters, as evident in his works "Musical Clock", "Remaining Snow" and "A Love Story before Dawn."

When literary critic and translator Xiang Yang translated the poem, he decided to translate it into literary Chinese. Here is his translation:

鳥啼
於黎明與暗黑之境
吱吱 吱吱 吱吱吱
為出於昏闇
而悲耶
為光明之來
而喜耶
吱吱 吱吱 吱吱吱
自天空至山谷
自山谷至野地
(271-3)

My translation according to Xiang's version:

Birds sang
Between the dawn and the dark.
Chi-chi chi-chi chi-chi-chi
To fly out of the dark
Sad as they are.
To welcome the daylight
Delighted as they are.
Chi-chi chi-chi chi-chi-chi
From the sky to the valley
From the valley to the heath.

In Xiang's version, he translates the first sentence of the original poem *鳥ㄟ 黎明ㄚ*

暗黑ト ノ境ニ啼タ (which can be literally translated as "Birds, between the dawn and the dark, sang" as *鳥啼 於黎明與暗黑之境* (which can be literally translated as "Birds sang, between the dawn and the dark") whilst Ch'en Tsao-hsiang translates it as *鳥兒，牠在黎明與黑暗之際叫著* (which can be literally translated as "Bird, it between the dawn and the dark, sang"), which preserves the Japanese grammar and is closer to the original phrasing. In Weng's original version and Ch'en's version, the subject (the bird) comes first in the line and the verb (sang) appears at the end, whilst in Xiang's version, his strategy to put the subject, "birds," and the verb, "sang," together in the beginning is closer to the ancient written poetic Chinese language. He intends to imbue Weng's language with a sense of authentic Chineseness by replacing the archaic Japanese usage of Katakana and Kanji. Ch'en, on the other hand, following the grammar of the original text in her translation of the first line, skillfully translates it without causing any problems of comprehension for Chinese readers. Without comparison with Weng's original texts, Xiang's translation might lead readers to think that the poem was written by a Chinese poet rather than in Japanese by a Taiwanese poet. Ch'en's translation, on the other hand, creates a sense of distance and translates the poem with a sense of Japaneseness, which reflects the original poem more closely, hence meeting the expectation of readers that they are reading a translated poem.

From the fourth line to the seventh line, Xiang only uses sixteen words to translate *闇ヲ出タノガ　悲シイノカ　光ガ來タノガ　嬉 シイノカ* (which can be literally translated as "out of the dark, so they are sad. Comes the light, so they are

delighted"). Xiang's Chinese translation contains highly wrought poetic expression as well as using the archaic word *闇*[199] to mean "darkness" and "dimness" (today it is more often replaced with *暗*). Compared to Xiang's translation, Ch'en's translation is more oral and closer to the modern language as it is currently used in Taiwan. Ch'en translates these four lines as *妳是否在悲泣？悲泣妳飛出了漆黑？或是在高興？高興妳迎接了光明？* (which can be literally translated as "Are you crying? Crying for your flying out of the darkness? Or are you delighted? Delighted for you are about to welcome the brightness?"), which is eleven words longer than Xiang's version.[200] At the end of the first stanza, Xiang also uses the ancient Chinese modal particle *耶* [ei], which was often used in ancient Chinese classics but is no longer used in modern Chinese poetry.

Interestingly, in the critical essay "Phantom and Reality: Translation and Deferral in Weng's Poems," Xiang argues that the fidelity of the translator toward the original text is the most important aspect of translation (261-3). He suggests that translators should do their best to present "the author's original intention in literature" rather than consider themselves as "creative writers" (ibid. 261-3). Yet when Xiang himself also translates Weng's poem, his rendition in archaic Chinese poetic language, used to create a sense of "authentic Chineseness" in Weng's poem, is actually a "re-writing" of Weng's poetic language. In so doing, Weng's original text,

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[199] The word is used in *Li Chi* (the Book of Rites), a great encyclopedia, which was edited during the first century B.C. (Chai and Chai ix). For example, in "Ki I" the word "闇" literally means "dark" and "evening" in the sentence "夏后氏祭其闇，殷人祭其陽，周人祭日以朝及闇" ["the sovereigns of Hsia presented it in the dark. Under the Yin dynasty they did so at noon. Under the Kau (Chou) they sacrificed all the day, especially at daybreak, and towards evening"]. The English translation is according to James Legge, p.p. 218-9.

[200] Classical Chinese is usually briefer in its expression than the modern (oral) language.

which represents an "authentic Japaneseness," is translated into an "authentic Chineseness," which Weng might have never intended when writing this poem.

Unlike Xiang's translation, that serves to transform the "authentic" Japaneseness of the poem into "authentic" Chineseness, Ch'en's translation has retained Japanese grammar and the structures of the original poem. Also in her translation of another poem "The Hill of Homeland[201]" (ふるさとの丘), Ch'en's strategy is to maintain the form of the original poem, which contains long sentences when it is translated into Chinese, whilst Xiang prefers the translation by Yüeh

[201] Chen's version:
我繞著雛菊綻開的小丘
追逐著，跳向穴洞的青蛙

陽光在我胸前融化
輕柔得使我瞠目

啊，誰在撥弄天庭之琴弦？
這一天，我們遙遙地遠離了死神

甘蔗園上遍地開滿了花朵
夕陽，她，趕忙來湊上一腳

雙親的家，在墓地的彼方
我吹著口哨，歡迎春的到來 (Xiang 268)

Yue's version:
繞著雛菊盛開山丘
將小青蛙追進穴洞

陽光在胸膛融化
我為其輕盈驚駭

啊　奏著天空琴弦
這個日子，距離死亡遙遠

甘蔗園上開著花
夕陽倉皇趕上來

父母親住在墓地那邊
我吹著口哨呼喚春天 (Xiang 267)

Chung-chüan, which contains shorter sentences, making it look more like Chinese classic poems (ibid. 265-8).

Translating Japanophone Taiwanese literature into "authentic" Chinese literary writing has been a very typical strategy as this accords with publishing conventions in Taiwan in the post-war years. For translators who work with literature from this specific period, writing across different cultures is a complicated process, as they have to decide how to interpret and transmit the author's cultural identity as it was shaped by differing political circumstances. Some central ideas disappeared due to political interference, since only the reproduction of a text with authentic Chineseness and without any suspicious of Japaneseness in translation could be accepted for publication.[202] Though such a strategy has been challenged recently by some translators who prefer to translate Japanophone Taiwanese literature by using a hybrid Taiwanese language that mixes with Japanese or Minnanyu, the prevailing strategy for translators is to use a standard Chinese translation. For example, translators like Xiang still follow this strategy even decades after the end of martial law.

It is also very common that a translation like Ch'en's is labeled as a "bad" piece of translation since it does not meet the standards of Chinese literature, and maintains Japanese grammar in the translated work. In order to have their translations published, the older generation of translators such as Chang would amend or "soften"

[202] In the interview with Professor Chang.

the Japaneseness of the original texts,[203] otherwise these lines would be deleted by the editors of the publishing houses. Therefore, the translators had to reach a compromise if they still wanted to link the translated works with the original Japanophone texts and reveal the hybrid Taiwanese linguistic identity under such circumstances.

Weng Nao of Taiwaneseness

It was not until the late 1960s and 1970s that the Taiwanese author Huang Chun-ming[204] established a paradigm for Sinophone Taiwanese New Literature with his hybrid linguistic practice in literature, mixing with Minnanyu and Japanese in the conversations of his characters. This literary language can still be understood by general Sinophone readers who do not know Taiwanese languages. He also depicts seemingly "minor" characters as central protagonists and narrates the stories of everyday life in rural Taiwan. Taiwanese hybrid identity is thus retained in his prominent works such as *The Sandwich Man* (1969, English translation *His Son's Big Doll* 2001), *The Taste of Apples* (1972, Eng translation 2001), *Xiaoqi's Cap* (1974, Eng translation 2001). Influenced by the works of Huang, some of Weng's works which are set in Taiwan were translated and re-written in accordance with the literary styles of Taiwanese literature of the late 1960s and 1970s.

Huang's experimental hybrid linguistic practice is widely recognised as one of

[203] As discussed in my interview with Professor Chang. See Appendix I.
[204] Known as 黃春明 in Taiwan. The English spelling is according to the Taiwanese WG system, which is used in the English translation *Taste of Apples* by translator Howard Goldblatt. The English translation was published in 2001 by Columbia University Press.

the most significant contributions to Sinophone Taiwanese literature by prestigious Taiwanese scholars such as Chen Fang-ming[205] and Jiang Bao-chai.[206] A new post-colonial Taiwanese identity is therefore evident in his works. Huang explains his writing strategy as follows:

> 我在這個起頭的階段，真正碰到小說寫作的難題是小說中對話的語言。我的小說人物是鄉親裡面的農夫和其他小人物，在經驗世界裡，這個時候的台灣，這些人只會一種語言，即是我們的母語，並且在生活中，他們對母語的掌握都十分生動。可是用國語寫到小說中的對話語言時，不但失去生動性，有時候連語言的恰當，和準確性都有問題.如果我就用我的母語閩南話來寫，縱然能找到適當的文字，而這也使許多不識閩南話的人看不懂，不要說外省人，就連本省的客家人都有問題…這個時候我個人的作法是，使用翻譯的方式，將母語翻成國語，如果可能的話，必要時，保留母語，自己唸一唸，看通不通，或是部分的修改，讓懂母語的人嚐到原味，而國語也讀得懂。The most difficult stage of writing for me is deciding how to modify the languages used in the daily conversation of characters in the novels. The farmers and other minor characters in my novels can actually speak one language, that is, their mother tongue Minnanyu. So when I transform these street conversations into Chinese, some of the expressions may not be as perfect as their native language could actually be. However, if I use Minnanyu to write, even if I could find the exact expressions to write, those who do not know Minnanyu might have difficulty understanding my works. Therefore, my strategy is to translate Minnanyu into Mandarin Chinese. If

[205] Known as 陳芳明 in Taiwan. The English spelling is according to the Taiwanese WG system, which is used by Chen as his English name in his publications.
[206] Known as 江寶釵 in Taiwan. The transcription is according to Hanyu Pinyin, which is used by Jiang as her English name in her international publications.

> possible, I would keep Minnanyu. I would read aloud the conversation again and see if something needs to be modified in order to enable those who do not know Minnanyu to read my works while still keeping the original flavour of Minnanyu.
> ("A Young Literati from Lotung"[207] 240) [My translation]

Taiwanese scholar Chen Kuo-wei[208] also agrees that such hybrid linguistic representation can indeed preserve the original flavour of Minnanyu—dialogue can be more vividly presented, and a sense of nostalgia can be created (330). This kind of literary style significantly influenced Taiwanese literary production during the 1970s. Following this trend, the translators of Weng's novels also subscribe to the principle of hybrid linguistic literary representations established in this era. The dialogue in his works such as "A Stubborn Old Man," "Little Lohan" and "Poor A-Jui," set in rural Taiwan, are translated using a hybrid language, which has been mixed with Minnanyu and Mandarin Chinese in order to suggest the locality of the literature. For example, in "A Stubborn Old Man," A-Kim's language *你說啥？慣世跟阿足仔快轉來了呢[?]* (which can be literally translated as "What are you talking about? Kuàn-sè and A-Tsiok-a are returning?") [M: Lí kóng siánn? Kuàn-sè ka A-Tsiok-a teh beh tńg lâi a nih?][209] is mixed with Mandarin Chinese and Minnanyu. In standard Mandarin Chinese, this sentence can be translated as *你說什麼？慣世跟阿足快回來了嗎？* (What are you talking about? Kuan-shih and A-Tsu are coming back?) [C: Ni shuo she(n) me? Kuan-shih ken A-Tsu k'uai hui lai le ma?]. Instead of

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[207] Lotung is a town in Yilan County.
[208] Known as 陳國偉 in Taiwan. The English spelling is according to the Taiwanese WG system, which is used as his English name in his publications.
[209] According to the Taiwanese Romanisation System.

translating the question word into *什麼* ("what") [C: she-ma] in Standard Chinese, it has been translated into the Minnanyu word *啥* ("what") [M: siánn],[210] which contains only one syllable, whilst in Standard Mandarin Chinese, *什麼* ("what") [C: she(n)-me] is a two-syllable phrase. The tone of the Minnanyu word "siánn" is in the fourth tone (shang-ju tone [上入]) of all eight tones. While Mandarin Chinese only has four tones and one neutral tone, and "she(n)" is the second tone (yang-ping tone [陽平]) and "me" is the neutral tone. Minnanyu's word "siánn" is short and ends with a stop, while in Mandarin Chinese the word "shih" is pronounced as a long, flat sound with no stop in the end. This also shows the sound and the rhythm of Minnanyu in the conversation. Secondly, the names such as "A-Kim," "A-Tsiok-a" and "A-Jui" also reflect the special nickname system in Taiwanese Minnanyu communities. In order to show the intimacy between friends and families, the (nick)names in Taiwanese Minnanyu usually add an "A" at the beginning of a name and sometimes at the end of a name when the name is pronounced as a stop sound. The name *阿金* [M: A-Kim; C: A-Chin] looks no different in Chinese characters, but the pronunciation would be different. It is pronounced "A-Chin"[211] in Mandarin Chinese and "A-Kim" in Taiwanese Minnanyu. Therefore, to name the characters in the works using a system that would be familiar to Minnanyu communities clearly shows the link between the fictional characters and Taiwanese people. In addition, the verb *轉* in Mandarin Chinese means "turn," but in Taiwanese Minnanyu it means

[210] According to the Taiwanese Romanisation System.
[211] There is no "m" sound in the ending consonant of vocabulary in Mandarin Chinese, but it is frequently seen in Taiwanese Minnanyu. Also, the word begins with an alveolar in Mandarin Chinese, whilst it begins with a velar sound in Taiwanese Minnanyu.

"return." So the verb phrase *轉來* can refer to "return" only when it is understood by a Taiwanese Minnanyu speaker. The verb *轉* [M: tńg] in Taiwanese Minnanyu is pronounced similar to the Japanese pronunciation of the word *迴* [J: Te-n], meaning "return", which can also signify the connections between Taiwanese vernacular language and the Japanese language. Lastly, the final particle *呢* [M: neh or nih] in the translation should be replaced by the particle *嗎* [C: ma] in Mandarin context, whilst it is a featured pronunciation used at the end of the sentence in daily conversations of Minnanyu speakers in southern Taiwan. Furthermore, its pronunciation is quite similar to the Japanese particle *ね* [J: ne], used at the end of a sentence whenever the speaker wish to have someone's attention or to ask for approval. As analysed above, these features all reflect Taiwan's hybrid linguistic identity and its specific vernacular sound system.

Apart from that, the song sung by another character in the novel, A-Hui, is also in Taiwanese Minnanyu:

二十都過啦
還沒娶牽手咧
媒人婆仔
妳要把我怎麼樣
唉唷，唉唷嘿
Twenty years old la
Not yet have a wife le
Matchmaker-a
What are you gonna do
Ai-yo, ai-yo-hay.

(Weng, "A Stubborn Old Man" 28) [my translation]

According to the passage above, the phrase *牽手* [M: khan-tshiú[212]; C: chien-shou] means "wife" in Taiwanese Minnanyu whilst in Mandarin Chinese it means "holding hands." The final particles, such as "la," "lei," "a," "ai-yo," "ai-yo-hay" are used to show the rhythms and musicality of the Taiwanese vernacular.

The translation strategy employed in "Little Lohan," another of Weng's short stories which is also set in rural Taiwan, is to use Chinese quotation marks「 」when it comes to Taiwanese vernacular language, such as*「圓藍」(音同「員林」)*」("round basket") [M: Uân-lîm][213], *「剃頭仔」* ("barber") [M: thì-thâu-a][214], *「火龍」* ("fire dragon") [M: hué-liông][215] and *「粿仔」* ("rice noodles") [M: kué-a][216] to show that the words are not used in standard Mandarin Chinese. In contrast, his short stories set in Tokyo, such as "Musical Clock," "Remaining Snow" and "A Love Story before Dawn," do not feature Taiwanese vernacular language in the translation; only his works that are set in Taiwan have this characteristic.

In dealing with incorporating Taiwanese context and special expressions or vocabulary into Japanophone literature, Weng would put the Hirakana beside the Taiwanese vocabulary, which is in the form of Kanji (Ch'en 225; Huang, "Reading Weng Nao" 164-6). In order to modify the vocabulary so it looks more like

[212] According to the Taiwanese Romanisation System.
[213] According to the Taiwanese Romanisation System.
[214] According to the Taiwanese Romanisation System.
[215] According to the Taiwanese Romanisation System.
[216] According to the Taiwanese Romanisation System.

standardised Japanese, for example, the expression *大廳*,[217] which appears in the Taiwanese cultural context was written as *大廳* (ひろま) with the Hirakana *ひろま* [J: hiroma] added along with Taiwanese (Chinese) characters *大廳*, whilst *ひろま* is actually the pronunciation for Japanese Kanji *広間*, which literary means "hall" (Che'n 225). While in the conversations in the texts such as "A Stubborn Old Man," Weng used the expression in the rural area of the mainland Japan in presenting the language usage in colonial Taiwan. For example, in the sentences *さう竈を掻き立てるでねえだよ* ("Mum, can you stop stirring the fireplace?") and *おらよか豚の方がよっぽど大事だからな* ("The pig is more important than me!") are those used in rural Japan (Sugimori "A Research on Weng Nao's Life and His New Found Work" 114), rather than Taiwanese vernaculars used in the translated texts. In so doing, his modified language in fact shows his intention to make his works accessible to Japanese readers.

Weng's texts have now been widely translated and interpreted. Without translation, his literature might not have had the broad readership that it does today in his homeland of Taiwan, seventy years after the works were written. The multiple interpretations in these translations provide different angles from which to explore his works and to understand the complexity of his identity as a writer. However, Weng's original intent to produce Standard Japanese in his works so that his writing would be accepted by Japanese readers in mainland Japan is lost in those translations that used a mixed language blending Minnanyu and Chinese.

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[217] The room located in the middle of the traditional Taiwanese Taoist house. See footnote 180.

Weng Nao of Japaneseness

In 2009, Japanese scholar Sugimori Ai's translation of *Streets with a Port* offered a brand new envisioning of Weng Nao's work for Taiwanese readers and her research has also created new possibilities for the study of Weng's works. Thus far, *Streets with a Port* is the only work to have been translated by a Japanese scholar, as the rest of his texts have all been translated by Taiwanese translators. The work translated by Sugimori offers Taiwanese readers a new perspective on re-reading Weng Nao since her style differs from that of the older generation of translators, who prefer to position Weng Nao as a Chinese writer or as a (Minnan-)Taiwanese writer.

Weng's final work *Streets with a Port* can be seen as one of the most representative of his multiculturalism and the mixture of the literary influences of the West and the East. The narrative opens in the multicultural streets of the International Kobe port, an area that was full of exotic night clubs, bars and cafés. Working as a prostitute and a drug dealer, the heroine of the story, Taniko, travels frequently between Kobe (Japan) and Hong Kong (China). Taniko's father was once a criminal but was helped by a priest when he was in need. After that he made up his mind to become a priest too and to help others. The story is set in the final year of Taishō Japan (1926). Unlike Weng's earlier works, which mention Taiwan's cultures or childhood memories in Taiwan, the central characters of this work are mainly Japanese and all the episodes happen in Japan.

Sugimori's strategy in representing such Japaneseness in this work is to

maintain some Japanese vocabulary in her translation. Even after half a century of oppressive political control by the Chinese Nationalist government, which forced the Taiwanese to give up speaking Japanese, a significant amount of Japanese vocabulary and expressions still remain in Taiwanese vernaculars and some have already become standard in Taiwanese Chinese. Therefore, many Japanese words do not need to be translated into Chinese since Taiwanese readers can still understand the meanings. Sugimori skillfully keeps these words in the original Japanese without translating them in the novel. For example, *手輕な料理店* ("restaurant of light food) [J: te-galu-na-liyou-li-ten] can still be understood by Taiwanese readers as the Kanji *輕食* ("light food") and *料理店* ("restaurant") [M: liāu-lí-tiàm][218] remained in the Taiwanese Minannyu language. The pronunciation of 手 ("hand") [J: te] in Japanese is adapted from the meaning of the verb *提* or *拿* ("pick up by hand") [M: thèh] in classical Chinese pronounciation and remained in the Taiwanese Minannyu. Also, the pronunciation of the Chinese translation *秀逗* ("short") [C: hsiu-tou][219] is still pronounced as Japanese, albeit in the form of Chinese characters. Otherwise, the combination of the two words *秀* ("flourish") [C: hsiu] and *逗* ("stay" or "tease") [C: tou] in Chinese is meaningless.

As mentioned above, in Sugimori's translation, some original Japanese words are retained, such as *料理店* ("restaurant"), *雨後の筍* ("the bamboo shoots after the rain"), *木棉* ("cotton tree") (276), *阪妻* ("a Japanese family name"), *毛唐*

[218] According to the Taiwanese Romanisation System.
[219] In English it actually means "short," and is pronounced by Japanese as "shio-do." Taiwanese have adapted the Japanese term and use it as an oral expression, meaning something that is wrong in the brain, like a short circuit (Source: Taiwan Ministry of Education Online Dictionary).

("foreigners") (207) and *旅愁* ("homesick"). Among them, some of the words are still used in Taiwan, such as *料理店*, *雨後の筍* and *旅愁*, while others are mainly Japanese. However, although the vocabulary mentioned above is in the same form of Kanji (Chinese characters), the meanings are different from Standard Taiwanese Chinese. For example, the original meaning of Weng's *雨後の筍* ("the bamboo shoots after the rain") is mistakenly referred to as "outstanding and especially high among others" by Weng, while in Standard Taiwanese Chinese it means "to mushroom like bamboo shoots after a spring rain."[220] Another example is that *木棉* in Japanese means cotton in general, but in Chinese it refers to a specific species—the cotton tree, which belongs to same family but a different genus than cotton. Weng's mistake in using the Chinese idiom therefore creates an exotic element and a sense of foreignness for Sinophone readers.

Sugimori's contribution to translating Weng's *Streets with a Port* can be seen as a significant development in the study of Weng's works as her translation reveals the Japaneseness of Weng's writings, which is barely evident in any other earlier translation. As a Japanese scholar, Sugimori's translation reflects her own Japanese cultural background and creates a sense of Japaneseness, which also (re-)embeds Taiwan's colonial memory in the text. When I interview Sugimori Ai, she revealed that her intention in translating Taiwanese writing from this period is to help more Taiwanese to read their own literature.[221] She believes that the responsibility of

[220] According to the definition Taiwan Ministry of Education Online Dictionary.
[221] In my email interview with Sugimori conducted on 17th Jun 2012. See Appendix II for correspondent details.

Japanese-Chinese translator of this period is to "recall the memory" of it, and to "bring it back" to Taiwanese readers.[222] In addition, she indicates that the younger generation of Japanese scholars should undertake the responsibility of addressing pre-war history in their work in order to enable the younger Taiwanese generation to read literature of the authors who originate from their homeland.[223]

However, for the pre-war Taiwanese generation, as I have argued earlier in this chapter, Japanese was their first language, not Mandarin Chinese. Moreover, Weng was actually seeking a wider readership in mainland Japan rather than limiting his audience to colonial Taiwan when setting off on his journey to Tokyo and beginning his literary career there. Therefore, when reading Weng Nao, we must remember that Weng's intention was actually to be recognised as a Japanophone Taiwanese writer rather than a Chinese writer. Weng's strategy in representing his own cultural identity in his literature was in fact to show his Japanese/Taiwanese identity in linguistic practice as well as his resistance against Japanese colonial rule. As a writer from colonial Taiwan, Weng intended to add Taiwanese vocabulary into the original text in order to persuade Japanese readers to accept that the Taiwanese vernacular was an offshoot of the Japanese language. Further, his decision to write in Standard Japanese stemed from his desire to be recognised as as good as other Japanese writers even though he grew up in colonial Taiwan.

Conclusion

[222] ibid.
[223] ibid.

Following the previous chapter that discusses Selvon's linguistic experiments with English, this chapter has compared Weng's code-switching between Taiwanese, Japanese and English. Through his modified Japanese, Weng has successfully "translated" his diasporic experience and hybrid milieu into the Japanophone literary scene in order to fulfill his ambition of having his works read more widely. However, Weng had not long achieved this status when the Japanese Empire was officially brought to an end in 1945. More recently, Weng's work has entered a new phase of being translated into Chinese, which I called—a second translation.

This chapter, therefore, has also explored and discussed the second wave of translation of Taiwanese diasporic literature originally written in Japanese, which was once the official language in Taiwan in the early twentieth century, but which is now no longer accessible to most contemporary Taiwanese readers. During Japanese colonial rule, Taiwanese authors had already "translated" their own culture and life experience when writing in the coloniser's language. Ironically, following the transition in political control in post-war Taiwan in the name of "decolonisation," today's common Taiwanese readers of the post-war generation are no longer able to read literature by authors from their homeland in its original form but instead have to read it in translation. As Taiwanese scholar Xiang Yang notes, Weng's literary works are widely read in Chinese translation rather than in the "imperial" language—Japanese, whilst some are not read at all since they have not yet been translated (274). Even in specialist literary scholarship, the discussion of Weng's works also depends heavily on whether particular works are translated into Chinese

(ibid. 274). Without the hard work of the translators, Weng's literature would not have had as wide a readership as it now does in his homeland Taiwan seventy years later. The multiple interpretations indeed provide us with a variety of insights into his works. In this regard, the role of translators in interpreting Taiwanese diasporic experience and writing is especially important.

When translating Taiwanese literature from Japanese to Chinese, as in the examples discussed above, the colonial memory has been "rewritten" by the translators with a significant influence from both political ideology and different strategies of translation. The fidelity of translation can no longer be seen as the only standard to decide if the translation is "good" or "bad" because each strategy has been shown to be partially "faithful" to the work in terms of the post-war political reality, the author's Sino-Taiwanese ethnic background, the hybridity of Weng's literature, or its Japaneseness in his choices of writing language. The role of the translator is that of a mediator who serves as both reader and writer, receiving the information from the author and re-producing it to fit into what can be accepted by the target audience. Therefore, each translation strategy has its limitations, but at the same time still shows its potential to carry memory across different spaces, time periods and contexts.

The analyses and discussions in this chapter have sought to derive new insights from translation of several specific examples of controversial literary texts, and hopes to prompt more research and further diverse translations of Japanophone Taiwanese literature. Future translation work may never be completely free from the

influences of ideology, patronage and political engagement; however, different versions of translations might result in a richer understanding of the original text for the reader. This will facilitate a re-reading of the original text from different perspectives, which can contribute to passing its cultural memory onto future generations.

Conclusion

By comparing the diasporic identities represented in literary works by Sam Selvon and Weng Nao, I have attempted to elucidate connections between two authors whose works have often been overlooked in scholarly debates. As my comparison shows, the complexity of contemporary multi-cultural affiliations and multiple geographical movements of diasporic subjects inspires the ways that authors like Selvon and Weng construct their literary/cultural identities in their literature. Throughout the discussions in this thesis, I have also suggested that the diasporic journeys which have significant influence on the representation of the two authors' diasporic identities should not be limited to strictly geographical perspectives, but should also apply to the literary metaphors, themes, techniques and linguistic adaptions within their work. These practices, which are explored in the thesis, show Selvon and Weng's literary achievement in writing back to the imperial metropolitan norms and aesthetics.

As the analysis in Part One reveals, a comparative reading across the linguistic/cultural divide is necessary in order to account for the complexity of the postcolonial contexts of Trinidadian and Taiwanese diasporas in British and Japanese societies respectively. The juxtaposition of the geographical diasporic routes represented in Selvon's and Weng's works also indicates that differences between their narratives primarily stem from different literary contexts. Texts such as Selvon's *Moses Migrating* and *The Housing Lark* and Weng's "An Ode to the Bird,"

"In a Foreign Land" and "Poet's Lover" are striking examples of how productive a comparative study of Trinidadian and Taiwanese diasporic cultural routes/roots in literature can be. My comparison of these specific works has been prompted by the shift within postcolonial studies towards examining the construction of cultural identity in relation to the metaphors of geographical movement in recent decades. My specific focus on the literary metaphors of the diasporic journey facilitates an investigation of Selvon's and Weng's representations of postcolonial diasporic identities within different cultural and historical contexts.

As I have suggested in the first chapter, Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech on Saturday 20th of April 1968 has been seen as "officially" triggering racial conflicts between white Britons and black immigrants. As a response to the "fantasy" of the racial extremists who wish the immigrants to return to where they came from, in his works Selvon illustrates that their diasporic identity is constructed through the flows of multiple journeys and suggests postcolonial diasporic identity is never fixed within the "original" culture of the migrant's homeland, but is a hybrid one that mixes with the multiple cultures of the sites of departure and arrival. Selvon uses the metaphor of the ship's voyage to write back to the collective myth of "Caribbean" identity being constructed in British society. In my analysis of Selvon's works, I have suggested that diasporic Caribbean identities are also closely affiliated to the cultural identity of the site of arrival.

Chapter 2 indicates that the relationship between Japanese colonialists, Chinese and Sino-Taiwanese cultures makes for even more complicated racial problems in

the context of Taiwanese diasporic literature. As I have noted, Weng uses the routes of the migrant bird to imply the routes and identities of the Taiwanese diaspora, beginning with the journey from the ancestral homeland in southern China to Taiwan, and later a secondary journey to the imperial capital, Tokyo. In his works Weng also suggests that diasporic migration is like a process of travelling through the body of the mother and being born into a new life. His use of the character Chinako (支那子, which literally means the child of China) in *Streets with a Port* suggests that doubly oppressed colonised subjects, especially the women, suffer the most. Along with Wu Zhuoliu's exploration of Taiwanese diasporic individuals in Tokyo in *Orphan of Asia*, I have argued that the multiple diasporic routes of the Taiwanese have incurred "double" racial discrimination from both the colonisers (Japanese) and those who came directly from mainland China. Ironically, this dynamic also helped to shape the uniqueness of diasporic Taiwanese identity. Moreover, as I suggest in this study, due to political oppression from the Chinese Nationalist government in the immediate post-war years in Taiwan, the interpretation of Japanophone Taiwanese literature initially served the dominant Chinese discourse rather than identifying the literary values and postcolonial resistance behind these works. This has therefore caused some difficulties in understanding the literary and cultural significance of Japanophone Taiwanese literature.

In recent Taiwanese literary scholarship, the concept of the "postcolonial" has been used to problematise the relationship between China and Taiwan, and this trend in literary criticism towards a re-appraisal of this notion seems very different from

the ways in which some literary scholars have interpreted postcolonial Caribbean writings such as Selvon's. Nevertheless, rather than dismissing literary categories outright, I would argue that concepts such as "postcolonial" literature can still be useful in analysing the Japanese colonial legacy within specific historical and literary contexts in Japanophone Taiwanese literature. As the texts analysed in Part Two and Part Three demonstrate, the stylistic and thematic connections between the texts of European/Japanese modernism and those of the colonised are obvious when texts of these two linguistic fields are read side by side.

On the topics of alienation and (non)belonging in the metropolis, I have demonstrated how the texts by Selvon and Weng which I discuss in Part Two are energised by adapting and modifying the writing of European/imperialist modernist writing. In Selvon's works, for example, the "*flâneur"* is redefined as a black British man, wandering in London city and having sexual intercourse with white women. Postcolonial diasporic writing implies in such cases that it is possible for the black *flâneur* to have the same privileges as the white man. Yet it began by mimicking European imperialist/male-centred modernist writing, black British modernist writing does not share the same values as European modernism as one of the central purposes of the former is to write back to and resist the latter. Therefore, such re-writing is an act of moving forward and inscribes the possibility of considering black British writing as an innovative piece of creative writing rather than as representative of an "alternative" or "peripheral" modernism.[224] Taiwanese writer

[224] See Benita Parry's "Aspects of Peripheral Modernism" (2009). Discussed in more detail in

Weng, one the other hand, sees himself as a 浪人(lang-jen)[225] wandering in the streets of Tokyo city. By narrating the story of a Taiwanese man who has one-night stands with Japanese women, the fantasy that the protagonist possesses the same privileges as the Japanese male coloniser is advanced in Weng's fictional world. Weng's detoured modernist/Neosensualist writing reflects his obsession with both the Western female body as an Asian man and the Westernised Japanese female body as a colonised man. Influenced by the Japanese modernist school of Neosensualist writing, the figure of the Japanese woman in Weng's literature, therefore, is transformed into a hybrid of both a "made-up" Western female body and an "authentic" Japanese woman.

Nonetheless, it must be noted that their strategies of resisting European/Japanese imperialist/patriarchal values, both Selvon's and Weng's modernist writings, though centred on the subjectivity of the diasporic *Other*, are not yet liberated from gender inequality. They not only re-inscribe the doubly colonised "coloured" women but also posit white/(made-up) Japanese women. When Selvon and Weng construct their characters they primarily challenge patriarchal imperial values in order to envision the significance of the marginalised male subjects in their literature. Their objective is to show their differences—not in terms of their peripheral status or of their culturally constructed Otherness, but of their uniqueness. As Susan Bassnett reminds us, reading different postcolonial literatures is like a voyage of discovery during which the postcolonial subject journeys towards

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Chapter 4.

[225] This could also be translated as *flâneur*.

self-awareness and discovers that Europe is no longer the centre of the world because the centres and peripheries have been redefined (*Comparative Literature* 90-1). As I suggest in Chapter 3 and 4, however, this process of discovery and re-writing can bring about a situation in which other minority groups are oppressed at the expense of a new power. This further suggests the ways in which postcolonial resistance might become trapped in a dilemma in which it replicates the very situation it attempts to fight against. An awareness of this notion can open up a mode of thought which further decolonises the way that other marginalised group(s) are portrayed, like the colonised women or white and Japanese (working-class) women I discuss in Chapter 3 and 4. In Selvon's and Weng's works, however, these groups of women serve to establish the "identity" of groups who were previously oppressed but who are now gaining cultural legitimacy such as the black London *flâneur* or the Taiwanese male *lang-jen* (diasporans). Once we address this phenomenon within literary criticism, then we can move forward to a new mode of postcolonial thought regarding the unique circumstances of different postcolonial cultures.

Returning to the metaphorical journeys within diasporic literature, the multiple layers of linguistic representation in postcolonial diasporic literature also provide a useful perspective to consider the myriad factors of migratory routes that shape the authors' backgrounds, the intersections between European or Japanese modernism and the modernist re-writing of the colonised authors, and the travelling/transformation of the postcolonial languages which I have identified throughout the thesis. Part Three articulates two perspectives of exploring the issue

of hybrid linguistic representations, firstly identifying the ways in which hybrid languages have been applied/developed in postcolonial diasporic writings, and secondly, examining ways in which a second translation has been carried out in the name of decolonisation in the case of Taiwanese literature. As I suggest in Chapter 5, Selvon invents a "Trinidadian English" literary vernacular which is designed to be accessible for a metropolitan readership. Imbued with a sense of Caribbeanness, Selvon's language is in a way familiar to English readers, but at a distance. This earned him distinction as an "alchemist of language" (Dabydeen, "West Indian Writers in Britain" 71-4). On the other hand, I demonstrate in Chapter 6 that Taiwanese writer Weng's written language represents his hybrid identity by using unfamiliar Kanji from Taiwanese vocabulary along with Japanese spelling (hiragana), which strategically meets standards of Japanese writing in order to be published in Tokyo, but still contains a sense of doubleness and foreignness in his literature. Apparently, the language systems of English and Japanese are different, and the linguistic strategies two authors used are different according to its grammar and vocabulary system. Nevertheless, the intention of both Selvon and Weng is to create a modified hybrid language which can ensure their works accessible to the general public who have no knowledge of their languages and have their voices heard in the language that speak. Additionally, as I also identify in Chapter 6, the concept of the "return" to the use of "pre-colonial language" is problematic as the use of the Japanese language in Taiwanese literature already embeds hybrid linguistic identities that are difficult to translate "back" into the "pre-colonial" language. Although

selected pieces of literature have been translated from Japanese to Chinese in recent decades, the epistemic violence of this "return" has inflicted substantial damage upon the development of Taiwanese literary history.

Though Weng's literature in Japanese has a limited readership, and was critically misunderstood during his lifetime, it does not necessarily mean that Weng's works are not important, especially given the political reasons for the relative inaccessibility of his work. By comparing and exploring his innovative literary representations with those of Selvon, this thesis endeavours to prove that Weng's works far exceed the expectations of his generation, or even the post-war generations. The restricted accessibility of his work demonstrates that percetions about the "non-existence" of the peripheral "Other" or diasporic subject are often due to the fact that they are excluded from the dominant literary discourse. As I suggest in the thesis, Caribbean or Taiwanese diasporic identities have been portrayed in various literary forms. These peripheral and marginalised identities are not non-existent, but instead wait for the decoding of what has been hidden behind the dominant discourse which believes that there is such a thing as an "authentic identity."

From the discussion of the literary works by these two authors selected in the thesis, my methodology in drawing these two cultural/literary contexts together for comparison can lead to a conclusion that it is almost impossible to understand postcolonial culture and literature without knowing about the other cultures that inflect and inform them. In my specific focus upon the comparison of literary works from two different cultural contexts, I have found that the concept of comparative

literature is changing alongside concepts of what we used to think about cultures and nations over time. The emergence of the term "Comparative Literature" in Europe during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries signified the age of national struggles throughout Europe, when new boundaries were established and national culture and identity were to be constructed within the new national boundaries (Bassnett, *Comparative Literature* 8-9). The traditional, binaristic approach to the study of comparative literature examines texts from different languages/nations/cultures in order to have a better understanding of the differences between the two, and subsequently identify the boundaries between each national literature (ibid. 8-9). However, in today's transnational world, comparatists have new tasks to understand how contemporary cultures/nations/languages now share some similar values. This is not a matter of sheer coincidence but it is in fact due to the frequent communications between areas/nations. From the works selected in the thesis, we can find that new hybrid identities in the modern world have evolved. With the rapid development of new technology, transport and new forms of media, we are now living in "the Age of Globalisation" as well as "the Age of Migration,"[226] and the flows of ideas and lived experience help to shape the resultant diasporic literature. As this thesis demonstrates, modern literary works such as those by Selvon and Weng are shaped by the authors' geographical movements and internal, lived experience of migration. Prompted by voyages across the sea, new experiences in literature of the twentieth century as discussed in this study have developed into new

[226] For analysis of this, see for example S. Castles and M. J. Miller. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. London: Macmillan, 1993.

forms of artistic production foregrounding new cross-cultural diasporic individual identities irreducible to specific national paradigms. Contemporary literary works, especially the selected postcolonial diasporic texts which I discuss throughout the thesis, in fact challenge conventional analytical approaches to studying national literatures and languages.

In conclusion, as my examination of selected works by Selvon and Weng reveals, there is a strong intention in both of their oeuvres to challenge the boundaries of linguistic, literary and cultural representation in order to address their unique modes of postcolonial diasporic identity. Selvon's and Weng's diasporic writings open up to literary themes that embody a globalised culture in-movement while, at the same time, highlighting the specifics of their unique cultural contexts. In my thesis, I probe some of the surrounding cultural contexts that meant the authors had to struggle to have their works read and to respond to the dominant colonial discourses. By situating their writing more explicitly in relation to a wider "planetary"[227] human condition, as my comparison shows, it is possible to reconceptualise our literary worldview by expanding literary themes such as hybrid cultural identity, gender inequality and racial injustice in relation to each other and to the specific literary traditions in which they emerged in the world of globalisation and migration.

[227] For analysis of this, see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's *Death of a Discipline* (2003), p.p. 72.

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Appendix I: Interview with Professor Chang Liang-tse

問題：

1. 請問您當初翻譯吳濁流《亞細亞的孤兒》動機為何?您是否受邀翻譯該作品?
2. 從您的學經歷得知您曾在日本旅居多年，是否可簡單分享這種跨文化(日本與台灣)生活經驗?對於這樣的跨文化經驗，您是持著較正向的態度還是傾向較為悲觀、痛苦的體驗?
3. 原著小說中所書寫的跨文化經驗是否與您自身生活經驗有相似之處?可否請您舉例說明。
4. 從翻譯文本的過程中,是否曾遇到台灣與日本之間的文化或語言轉換上的困難，例如有沒有任何例子是兩者文化背景的差異具有相互牴觸、具有衝突性而導致翻譯上的困難?或是兩者文化背景間因為過於相似，但是概念上卻有細微的差異而導致翻譯上的困難?

/

子书同好：

接到来信，正是我忙着〈面对海上展〉之事。9月30日开幕典礼，9月10日专题演讲，总算顺利完成，休息数日，今天才把笔回信，无歉！

妳提问的《亚》书，因为年代之远，有些记忆已模糊，所以我回答可能记忆暧昧，祈谅。

第一部分，跨文化背景与创作历程

1. 我第一次编选的小说集《泥沼中的金鲤鱼》（1975年9月10，台南，大行出版社）列入「台湾乡土文学丛刊」之一。其后，因《镜理和金鱼》（1976.11）反应甚佳，遠行出版社再邀我编《当代流行小说》6卷（1977.9）。这两种都纪是未同意并签

约出版。我的目的在於把前辈作家的作品整理出版，以供日後撰写台湾文学史的人（包括我自己）完整的材料。

其中《垂》書，我认为是经典之作，也是光复的代表作，故排於作品集之第1卷。其译文採用傅恩学译，黄济南校阅的版本（1962.6.10.商务出版社），这也是笔者最满意的版本，我只是修改一些文辞或标点等而已。~~当然最好还是能看看日~~。

2.《吳作品集》出版後，我才找到一些光复发表於日治时期的原文（日文），与我的中文版有出入。有关谴责日本帝国的部份都被删除，甚至有的变成「抗日意识」。这并非我要强调两个时代的台湾作家都有这种现象，这是台湾作家的悲哀，在两个极权时代，都不敢讲真话。

我觉得日本作家有二种。一种是完全忘记自己在战前所写的作品，而不愿改写

重刊。一来是既持我前所写的文章没有
修改，除了错字之外，一字不改地收入全
集，是做自己的观念。

可是台湾作家既不敢全盘否认又不敢
坚持信念，都在挟缝中存生求。

我的旅日经验，和较於日本人的「单纯」，
反衬中国人、台湾人、韩国人的心机之重，觉得
很悲哀。

3.《亚》书故事与日治末期，感觉好像我
自己在戒严的心情。如小说中的「国语
化」与我读书时的「国语化」如出一辙。
小说中的「志愿兵」，与强迫我「志愿入党」
如出一辙。

4.《亚》书非我翻译，故不能拿例。但
翻译别的作品，到困难之处甚多，如：

番人（ばんじん）{ の轮番值守的人 / (=) 蕃人（ばんとう）（原住民） } 视前后文而定

番刀、番布（ばんぷ）：无适当词可替换。

4

どろにんぎょう
泥人形：中文「泥娃娃」、「土偶」皆無法表現台湾味，故訳為「土仔仔」。

諸如此類，不勝枚挙。

以下部分，容以再叙。疲労尚在，見諒。

2011年9月16日

張良澤

Appendix II: Interview with Sugimori Ai

第一部分: 跨文化背景與生活經驗

林:請問您翻譯 1930-1950 台灣文學(日文→中文)的動機為何?您是否受邀翻譯該作品?

杉森：我碩士論文的研究對象”翁鬧”有幾篇未出土的作品。剛好有位學姊無私地提供我參考《台灣新民報》新出土的日文原作，我才能夠有機會研究分析。並且將該作品翻譯為中文(因為沒有中譯文！)，作為碩士論文的附錄。

林：請問您在日本跟台灣居住多久?是否可簡單分享這種跨文化(日本與台灣)生活經驗?

杉森：出生到大學畢業一直都在日本，所以大概 22 年。研究所到現在都在台灣台南，已經 11 年!(不過中間都是兩地來來回回)。

林：原著小說中所書寫的跨文化經驗是否與您自身生活經驗有相似之處?可否舉例說明。

杉森：原著小說主要描寫日本人在神戶的故事，沒有特別設定留學生或臺灣人在日本的生活，因此沒有相似之處，而且我是東京人，對這些神戶的情景都沒有相同體驗。

第二部分: 語言的使用

林:當您在翻譯這部作品時,您是否有發現原著中的語言並非「標準日語」或是語意不明的地方? 如果有,可否舉例說明。您如何將這樣的語言呈現於您的翻譯作品中?

杉森：應該是說「時代」背景的差異，就是舊日文。不過，我翻譯的時候是以現代中文來呈現。由於原稿連載於報紙，所以印刷的關係,報紙邊緣的地方,看不清楚甚至掉行，因此，那個部分只能夠留空白並註明為「原文遺漏暫略」的方式處理。

林:該部作品中,原著作家的語言是否受到母語文化的影響,例如特殊用語,語言韻律,文法等等,而這些用法是日本本土作品不會出現的?

杉森：原著作家的日文非常好,所以基本上幾乎看不出臺灣得因素，不過有一些形容方式似乎有受到台灣的文化的影響。例如;「如香腸般細長的海港都市……」,

「細長的海港都市」用「香腸」來形容，還有，「嬰兒好像還有呼吸的樣子，松吉感覺到彷彿絞死的雞般有一點點暖氣。」將被丟棄的垂危嬰兒形容為「彷彿絞死的雞般」等處，日本人不會採取這種的形容方式！所以這兩個地方讓我印象特別深刻！

林：當您翻譯 1930-1950 年代的作品時,是否遇到任何歷史時間軸文化翻譯上的困難? (從二戰時期使用的日文到當今台灣所使用的現代中文)

杉森：最大的困擾不是中文的問題。而是兩個時代日文之間的差異。戰前與戰後的日文改變得很大，單字淘汰也很快，所以有些很難理解。所以詳查字典並收集資料等，需要了解當時的社會背景。

林：從翻譯文本的過程中,是否遇到台灣與日本之間的文化或語言轉換上的困難,例如有沒有任何例子是兩者文化背景的差異具有相互牴觸、具有衝突性而導致翻譯上的困難?或是兩者文化背景間因為過於相似,但是概念上卻有細微的差異而導致翻譯上的困難?

杉森：日文「短歌」很難呈現為中文，因為日文「短歌」為一種文學種類，五七五七七句的方式呈現，那麼翻譯中文的時候，只能把歌意翻出來而已。沒辦法翻譯其形式之美與語感。

第三部分: 文學譯者之批判思考

林:您覺得身為這段時期作品的譯者將該作品帶回台灣最重要的目的與責任為何?

杉森：在台灣有這些日語作品就是因為曾經日本統治台灣的後果。造成現在台灣人看不懂他們祖先寫的文章，那麼身為日本人研究者，應該把這些作品、文字紀錄都還原中文，讓現代台灣人看得懂，使台灣讀者了解當時台灣人在想些什麼？還有使日治時期台灣研究更多的資料，好讓發展研究。這是戰後的日本人該負起的責任。跨語言作家所提到的「召喚記憶」(我博士論文也是想要處裡這個部分)

林：身為文學譯者,您相信文學翻譯應該忠於原著或是該適時地改變重新詮釋為一部新作品?

杉森：就台灣文學作品而言，要忠於原著。因為我認為有史料價值。

林：請問您如何於自己翻譯的作品中發聲?展現譯者的主體性?

杉森：我認為譯者不是詮釋者，所以可能是在註釋裡面吧！ (不過這一次的作品中並沒有註釋)

林：請問您期望自己的譯作如何被行銷於當代文學市場?

杉森：在台灣好像文學市場很小！我自己的譯作也是只有研究者才會看！所以要說行銷的話,要有人來改編連續劇化、電影化才會銷售！

Email interview by 17th Jun 2012.